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**Unpacking Benevolent Sexism through an Investigation of the Effects of Helping Behaviors  
on Women**

**DISSERTATION**

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Organizations & Management

by

Alexander G. Ruiz

Committee Members:  
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2019



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Unpacking Benevolent Sexism through an Investigation of the Effects of Helping Behaviors on Women

*Dissertation successfully defended on April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2018*

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**Ruiz, A. G.** “Man Up!”: How a Lack of Agentic Behavior Creates Stereotype Backlash Effects for Men. (*In Data Collection Stage; Target Journal: Organizational Behavior & Human Decision Processes*)

**Ruiz, A. G.** Gay in the Game Industry: When Organizational Culture and Inclusiveness Strategies Clash. (*Currently writing up results. Target Journal: Gender, Work, and Organizations*)

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**Ruiz, A. G.** (March 2019) “Man Up!”: How a Lack of Agentic Behavior Creates Stereotype Backlash Effects for Men. Western Academy of Management, Developmental Paper Session.

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- Negotiations
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**The Turner Group**, Claremont, CA September 2013 – September 2014 (Contract)

*Assistant Executive Recruiter*

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**Loyola Marymount University**, Los Angeles, CA September 2011 – July 2013

*Assistant Executive Recruiter*

Researched potential candidates to fill vacancies for high level positions on campus; provided support via clerical work for the Executive Recruiter; transcribed and edited phone interviews of potential candidates

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Directed the workflow for compliance and certification testing support for projects across multiple game platforms; conducted training and participated in the interviewing process for new hires in the department; served as a liaison to production, management, and first party companies; drafted test plans, created documents for process improvement for the department,

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Unpacking Benevolent Sexism through an Investigation of the Effects of Helping Behaviors on Women**

Alexander Ruiz

Doctor of Philosophy in Organizations and Management

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Professor Jone Pearce, Chair

Extant empirical research is mixed on the link between the endorsement of benevolent sexism—a set of stereotypical attitudes regarding women that are both positive and patronizing in tone—and behaviors that reflect benevolent sexism. The confusion stemming from these mixed results is especially prominent in research that considers helping behaviors, which occur when an individual helps their coworker solve a work-related problem. I aim to add clarity to research on the intersection of benevolent sexism and helping behaviors in three experiments. In Study 1, I found that women who endorse benevolent sexism negatively evaluated their own competence and the competence of their helper after receiving dependency-oriented help. In Study 2, I replicated the results of Study 1 but found that power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness were unrelated to benevolent sexism, and did not explain the effects of benevolent sexism on helping behaviors better than benevolent sexism itself. In Study 3, I found that observers negatively evaluated the competence of women who received dependency-oriented and, unlike previous research, these results were not affected by the observers' endorsement of benevolent sexism. In conducting these studies, I add to the existing research on benevolent sexism by expanding on and developing theory about the effects of benevolent sexism in the workplace while accounting for anomalous findings in previous research. Additionally, I add to the literature on help in the workplace by showing that certain kinds of helping behaviors may negatively impact both an individual's performance on the task for which they are receiving help and evaluations of helpers.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THE PROBLEM WITH BENEVOLENT SEXISM AND EXPECTED CONTRIBUTION**

In our society, we tend to think about sexism as overt prejudice and discrimination towards women. Glick and Fiske (1996) expanded upon this base definition of sexism by introducing the concept of benevolent sexism, which is a set of stereotypical attitudes regarding women that are positive but patronizing in tone. Although benevolent sexism was originally conceptualized as an individual difference (i.e., that individuals may be more or less likely to endorse views that constitute benevolent sexism), some researchers have also identified behaviors that are generally considered to be benevolently sexist in nature. For example, Viki and colleagues (2003) specify that enacting protective restrictions that prohibit women working in potentially dangerous situations would be a form of benevolently sexist behavior.

On the surface, one would think that the endorsement of benevolent sexism and benevolently sexist actions are related, yet the results of recent studies show that this relationship is not clear. For example, considering that the protection of women (especially by men) is a major tenet of benevolent sexism, individuals who endorse benevolent sexism should theoretically be supportive of women who experience sexual assault. Yet men who endorse benevolent sexism are actually more likely to disbelieve women who report sexual assault and have more negative reactions towards them (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003). As another example, because two tenets of benevolent sexism are the belief that men should help women and that men and women should occupy separate but complementary spheres in society, one might expect that individuals who are high in benevolent sexism and who observe a male employee helping a female employee in the workplace would negatively evaluate the female employee and positively evaluate the male employee. However, Ruiz (2019) found that observers who witness this form of helping and are high in benevolent sexism do not evaluate the

male and female employee any differently, but observers who are low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate both employees. In this example, we have individuals who are low in benevolent sexism evaluating individuals in ways which are theoretically consistent with individuals who are high in benevolent sexism. Thus, there are cases where the empirical reality of the endorsement of benevolent sexism does not match with what we might theorize its effects to be.

In this dissertation, I will build off of Ruiz (2019) which hypothesized that dependency-oriented help, which consists of providing the beneficiary with the full solution to their problem or solving their problem for them (Nadler, 1997), negatively impacts perceptions of a female beneficiary's competence. Further, the author theorized that dependency-oriented help may be a behavior rooted in benevolent sexism, and, as such, benevolent sexism beliefs should affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and evaluations of beneficiary and helper competence. Ruiz (2019) found that observers low in benevolent sexism evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help from men as lower in competence than women who receive autonomy-oriented help, which consists of providing the beneficiary the tools or knowledge needed to solve problems on their own (Nadler, 1997), from men. Again, this result runs counter to what we should expect the relationship between the endorsement of benevolent sexism and benevolent sexist behaviors to be because observers who hold fewer benevolent sexist beliefs are driving the negative evaluations these women receive. This study raises some interesting questions: why is there a disconnect between endorsement of benevolent sexist views and individuals' perceptions of others' behavior; and does one's own endorsement of benevolent sexism predict how we are affected by benevolent sexist behaviors; and, lastly, are there other

potential explanations that may explain the effects of helping behaviors beyond the endorsement of benevolent sexism?

I will build on previous work on benevolent sexism in the context of workplace helping behaviors. The focus on helping behaviors is important in the context of benevolent sexism because a key aspect of benevolent sexism is the belief that men should protect and help women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Further, men who hold benevolent sexist beliefs offer a dependency-oriented help to women more often than men who do not hold these beliefs (Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket, & Lazar, 2016). In this study, however, the authors did not study helping behaviors in the context of the workplace, where helping is ubiquitous and expected. By focusing on helping behaviors that are a manifestation of benevolent sexism, I seek to understand benevolent sexism by examining other psychological characteristics that may help provide a more thorough understanding of benevolent sexism and people's reactions to helping behaviors. Specifically, I will argue that three concepts – power distance, self-confidence, and stigma consciousness – are associated with benevolent sexism, and that these concepts extend and enrich the theorizing on benevolent sexism in the workplace.

### **Expected Theoretical Contribution and Overview**

This series of studies has potential to make several important theoretical contributions to the field. First, the present work extends research on the endorsement of benevolent sexism by showing that benevolent sexism may be associated with three more well-established concepts, which may also help to provide guidance for those seeking to address workplace benevolent sexist beliefs and behaviors. For example, Brady and colleagues (2015) found that women who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to view the presence of diversity policies as proof that an organization treats their female employees fairly. However, if women who are high in



benevolent sexism are low in stigma consciousness, i.e., they are more likely to notice actions or behaviors that stigmatize their identity group (Pinel, 2004), then they may be less vigilant in identifying situations wherein an organization treats women unfairly despite their diversity policies. If endorsement of benevolent sexism is associated with other well-established personal values and beliefs, then this provides a more complete theoretical account of benevolent sexism that has implications for those seeking to address it in organizations. This dissertation suggests and tests alternative explanations that can clarify the results of other studies that focus on the effects of individuals who endorse benevolent sexism, offering significant implications for our theorizing and actions.

Second, the present research extends research on Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCBs) and helping behaviors by theorizing and testing the effects of these behaviors on the beneficiary's task performance. Specifically, in this dissertation I investigate whether receiving dependency-oriented help on a task causes the beneficiary to perform worse on that task. Interestingly, to my knowledge there has been no research that tests whether help impacts individual's task performance. Prior work on helping behaviors and performance has generally focused on the group level. For example, several studies show that too many helping behaviors in a group can cause a decrease in overall group performance (e.g., Bachrach, Powell, Collins, & Richey, 2006; Barnes, Hollenbeck, Wagner, DeRue, Nahrgang, & Schwind, 2008). To the extent that researchers have studied the effects of helping behaviors on individual performance, they focus on measures of overall performance as evaluated by the individual's supervisor (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). Thus, I extend this work by showing that certain kinds of helping behaviors may negatively impact an individual's direct performance on the task for which they are receiving help.

Third, I offer a new perspective with which to view helping relations between men and women. Prior research in this space has focused on how the endorsement of benevolent sexism may prompt a woman to ask for help from a man or prompt a man to offer help to a woman (e.g., Shnabel, et al., 2016; Wakefield, Hopkins, & Greenwood, 2012). I depart from this tradition to explore the negative consequences that receiving help may have on women and the processes by which these consequences occur. To my knowledge, there has been only one similar study that investigated the effects of benevolently sexist help on women. In this study, Dardenne, Dumont, and Bollier (2007) showed that test performance for female job recruits decreased when the recruits were informed that they would be receiving additional help from their male coworkers for their first week on the job. One major shortcoming of this study is that female participants did not actually receive help on a task, and so their exposure to a benevolent sexist behavior was hypothetical. My dissertation departs from this study in several ways: 1) female participants will actually receive help on a task as opposed to being told that they will receive help in the future; 2) I will test perceptions of the helper to see if the helpers are negatively evaluated depending on the kind of help they offer; and 3) I will be taking into account the endorsement of benevolent sexism for female beneficiaries since, as I will argue below, women who are high in benevolent sexism will react differently to the help than women who are low in benevolent sexism.

Lastly, I add to the literature on helping behaviors to see if any negative consequences for help also affect the helper. It is particularly important to study the implications that giving help has on the helper as organizations become more aware of the benefits of OCBs and altruistic helping behaviors in the workplace (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). As employees become encouraged to provide help to their coworkers, they may inadvertently provide dependency-oriented help to others, which may cause both the beneficiary and the helper to be viewed

negatively. Overall, I hope to show that receiving certain kinds of help may negatively impact both a woman's performance on the task for which she is receiving help and evaluations of her male helper.

In this dissertation, I will first discuss the literature on benevolent sexism with a specific focus on the protective paternalist subcomponent and its implications for women in the workplace. I will then discuss the literature on helping behaviors with a focus on the literature that differentiates between autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help. I will then discuss the intersection of dependency-oriented helping behaviors and benevolent sexism, while also providing a theoretical justification for why power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness can co-occur with benevolent sexism. I will then detail the results of three studies. The first investigates the effects of dependency-oriented help on women who endorse benevolent sexism. The second is a replication of the first but that also includes tests of power distance, self-confidence, and stigma consciousness. The final study focuses on observers' evaluations of women who receive dependency-oriented help on a task. Lastly, I will explain my final theoretical contributions, the limitations of these studies, and some potential avenues for future research that this dissertation could inspire.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **BENEVOLENT SEXISM AND HELPING BEHAVIORS**

#### **Benevolent Sexism**

Glick and Fiske (1996) changed the way researchers conceptualize gender discrimination by differentiating between hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism, or overt animus, is what comes to mind for most people when they think about prejudice towards women.

Benevolent sexism, in contrast, is a set of stereotypical attitudes regarding women that are subjectively positive in tone and that tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping and protecting) but that still perpetuate sexist norms (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Benevolent sexism encompasses three components: protective paternalism (e.g., the belief that women should be protected by men), complementary gender differentiation (e.g., the belief that women have qualities, such as empathy, that men do not usually possess), and heterosexual intimacy (e.g., the belief that a female partner is necessary for a man to feel complete).

Individuals with high degrees of benevolent sexist beliefs may, for example, think that women are better suited for more social roles (e.g., recruiting) in organizations than men are.

Importantly, because of its positive nature, benevolent sexism tends to go unrecognized as sexism by both men and women who are exposed to it, and it is therefore likely to remain unchallenged, which maintains and reinforces male dominance (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005).

Further, benevolent sexism maintains social inequalities between men and women. For example, Jost and Kay (2005) found that merely priming benevolent sexism in female participants caused them to believe that the system is fair and balanced, which undermined their resistance to inequality. The authors posit that, because benevolent sexism paints women in a positive light, women who are exposed to it see society as benefiting them. Also, Brady and colleagues (2015)

found that female participants who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to view the presence of diversity policies in an organization as evidence that the organization treats women fairly—even when provided with evidence to the contrary. The authors contend that this data is consistent with theories of legitimacy that argue that low status group members sometimes support systems that disadvantage their own group (e.g. Jost & Kay, 2005). Thus, benevolent sexism is particularly insidious because it reinforces male dominance in society while going largely unnoticed.

Whereas hostile sexism seeks to justify male power, traditional gender roles, and men's exploitation of women as sexual objects by emphasizing derogatory characterizations of women, benevolent sexism relies on kinder and gentler justifications for male dominance and prescribed gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Despite its positive tone, researchers have shown that the endorsement of benevolent sexism often correlates with beliefs that have clear negative implications for women. For example, individuals who endorse benevolent sexism also endorse traditional gender stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexist beliefs relate to increased endorsement of sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995; Pryor, Geidd, & Williams, 1995), increased enjoyment of sexist jokes (Greenwood & Isbell, 2002), and more negative reactions to allegations of sexual assault (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Viki & Abrams, 2003). Importantly, these studies do not connect the endorsement of benevolent sexism with actual behaviors.

Although some literature on benevolent sexism has focused on correlations between endorsement of benevolent sexism and various indicators of negative attitudes towards women, other researchers have investigated the effects of benevolently sexist behaviors on women. This research focuses on the protective paternalistic subcomponent of benevolent sexism. One

benevolently sexist behavior might be to place protective restrictions on a woman which, for example, might prohibit the woman from working in potentially dangerous situations (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). Although some women may perceive protective restrictions placed on them by male coworkers as evidence of discrimination and sexism, men may not view these behaviors as sexist (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007; Sarlet, Dumont, Delacollette, & Dardenne, 2012). Further, Moya and colleagues (2007) found that when women were exposed to a partner's imagined opposition to an internship that involved interviewing criminals, only women who highly endorse benevolent sexism accepted a group-based protective justification (i.e., "It is not safe for any woman") for the restriction. The authors argued that women who endorse benevolent sexism could have lower career aspirations because they are more likely to accept a partner's protective restrictions.

Benevolent sexism can also take the form of offering patronizing help to a woman. In one experiment, a man asked a woman if she wanted help on a computerized task after he questioned the woman's ability to perform the task due to her gender (Becker et al., 2011). The woman then experienced a double bind wherein observers judged her as warm but incompetent if she accepted the help, but also as cold but competent if she rejected the help (Becker et al., 2011). Additionally, the mere thought that they may encounter benevolently sexist help can lead women in the workplace to confirm the stereotypical belief that they are less competent through stereotype threat. As mentioned earlier, when female job recruits were informed that they would be receiving additional help from their male coworkers for their first week on the job, they performed worse on cognitive ability tests than when the job recruiter acted in a nonsexist way (Dardenne et al., 2007). These results occurred even when women did not identify protective

paternalism as a form of sexism (Dardenne et al., 2007). Therefore, protective paternalistic behavior can lead to a host of negative outcomes for women in the workplace.

The studies detailed above generally find what researchers would expect regarding how individuals who endorse benevolent sexism would act when confronted with a benevolent sexist behavior. For example, women who endorse benevolent sexism approve of a male partner's protective restriction being placed on them (Moya et al., 2007). However, this connection between the endorsement of benevolent sexism and reactions of benevolent sexist behaviors is not always clear, especially in the context of helping behaviors.

### **Helping Behaviors**

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCBs) are discretionary, extra-role behaviors in the workplace (Organ, 1998). Two meta-analyses show that OCBs are associated with a variety of indicators for group and organizational effectiveness, including productivity, customer satisfaction, and sales (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997; Podsakoff et al., 2009). Helping behaviors, a subset of OCBs, occur when an individual helps their coworker solve a work-related problem (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1994; Organ, Smith, & Near, 1983). One might assume that helping behaviors would create positive benefits in the workplace since the performance of OCBs in the workplace leads to more effective organizations (Spitzmuller & Van Dyne, 2013). Yet researchers have found mixed results on the effectiveness of helping behaviors. At the group level, higher amounts of helping behaviors in a group were positively related to the amount and quality of paper produced by paper mill work crews (Podsakoff, Ahearne, & MacKenzie, 1997), but in another study, higher amounts of helping behaviors in a group were negatively related to quantitative sales records among insurance agency units (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1994). In an attempt to reconcile these results, researchers theorized that the

effectiveness of helping behaviors in groups depends on how much task interdependence there is between members of the group. Task interdependence moderates the relationship between levels of helping behaviors in a group and group performance such that the more task interdependent the members of a group are, the more helping behaviors enhanced the effectiveness of the group (Bachrach et al., 2006; Barnes et al., 2008; Nielsen et al., 2012). At the individual level, researchers have found a positive relationship between an individual's helping behaviors and subjective evaluations of individual's performance (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000), yet there has been little work exploring the effects of helping behavior on an individual's task performance. In other words, we know that an individual's performance of helping behaviors affects their manager's assessment of their performance, but we know less about how an individual's helping behavior may affect the task performance for either the helper or the beneficiary of the help.

Nadler (1997, 1998) distinguished between two forms of helping behaviors that have differential effects on the beneficiary of the help: autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented. Autonomy-oriented help consists of providing the beneficiary the tools or knowledge needed to solve problems on their own. Autonomy-oriented help retains the agency of the beneficiary, who is allowed to approach or solve their problem in any way they see fit. Dependency-oriented help consists of providing the beneficiary with the full solution to their problem or solving their problem for them. Dependency-oriented help is problematic because it highlights the skills and resources of the helper and keeps the beneficiary of the help in a dependent position. Consistent with this idea, research at the intersection of helping behaviors and social group status found that helping behaviors may not always be beneficial at the individual level because helping



behaviors, by their very nature, position one individual as capable and the other as incapable (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010).

Nadler (2002) theorized that splitting helping behaviors into these two categories is important in the context of social group status relations because high status groups may give dependency-oriented help to low status groups as a means to maintain status inequality. In support of this theory, when citizens (high status group) were led to believe that there was economic competition in their home country, they were more likely to offer dependency-oriented help to immigrants (low status group) (Jackson & Esses, 2000). Further, individuals were less likely to ask for dependency-oriented help from out-group members, particularly when they strongly identify with their in-group (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). Similarly, people high in social dominance orientation were less likely to offer autonomy-oriented help relative to dependency-oriented help to out-group members (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008). People also are more likely to offer dependency-oriented rather than autonomy-oriented help to out-group members when they feel that the out-group threatens their identity (Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009). Lastly, potential helpers were more likely to perceive low status help seekers as chronically dependent and incompetent, which led to them giving dependency-oriented help more often than autonomy-oriented help to members of the low status group (Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014). Thus, studies consistently find that high status groups either consciously or unconsciously use dependency-oriented help to maintain status differences between them and others.

While the primary focus of research on autonomy-oriented versus dependency-oriented help has been on status relations, researchers have also identified other potential negative implications of receiving dependency-oriented help. For example, Nadler and Chernyak-Hai

(2014) found that observers judge an individual who received dependency-oriented help as less likeable than one who received autonomy-oriented help. Similarly, Ruiz (2019) found that observers who witnessed a woman receiving dependency-oriented help from a man perceived her as less competent than if she received autonomy-oriented help. Dependency-oriented help has also been shown to negatively affect the attitudes of those receiving this form of help. In particular, after receiving dependency-oriented help, individuals experienced lower self-esteem and self-worth (Halabi, Nadler, & Dovidio, 2011), more negative affect (Wakefield, Hopkins, & Greenwood, 2012), and felt more disrespected and untrustworthy (Alvarez & Van Leeuwen, 2011) than when they received autonomy-oriented help. Thus, the effects of dependency-oriented help go beyond reinforcing status differences between groups; they can also harm an observer's evaluations of and induce negative feelings in the individuals who receive this form of help. These negative evaluations and induced negative feelings may potentially impact the task performance of individuals who receive dependency-oriented help, although researchers have not yet studied this relationship.

In this dissertation, I argue that helping behaviors have detrimental effects on task performance when the help provided to the recipient is dependency-oriented. Further, I argue that benevolent sexism interacts with dependency-oriented help such that female beneficiaries of this form of help are particularly negatively impacted. By investigating the relationship between benevolent sexism, dependency-oriented help, and task performance, I highlight the potentially problematic nature that helping behaviors have on women in the workplace, and seek to gain a deeper understanding of what characteristics could co-occur with the endorsement of benevolent sexism.

### **Dependency-Oriented Help and Benevolent Sexism**

Generally, research marrying dependency-oriented help and benevolent sexism has focused on how these two forces work in tandem to reinforce status differences between men and women. Although dependency-oriented help reinforces status hierarchies between a dominant group and other groups, the relationship between benevolent sexism and status is less obvious. One of the core subcategories of benevolent sexism is gender differentiation, or the belief that men and women possess different yet complementary traits that make them better suited for particular roles in society. In general, society has ascribed more value to masculine roles, and, in the workplace, men tend to hold higher status jobs than women (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, 2009). Additionally, exposure to benevolent sexism may cause women to believe that the societal status quo is fair and balanced, even though that status quo places men on top of the status hierarchy over women (Jost & Kay, 2005). Thus, benevolent sexism has a status component that interacts with dependency-oriented help to disadvantage women in the workplace.

Research on the intersection of benevolent sexism and helping behaviors generally supports the notion that these two forces work in tandem to perpetuate gendered status hierarchies. First, men are more likely to provide help to women than to other men (Eagly, 2009). Building on this, men who hold benevolent sexist beliefs are more likely to offer dependency-oriented help to women rather than autonomy-oriented help (Shnabel et al., 2016). Furthermore, women who hold benevolent sexist beliefs are more likely to ask for dependency-oriented help from men as opposed to autonomy-oriented help (Shnabel et al., 2016). Additionally, Becker and colleagues (2011) found that observers view women who accept dependency-oriented help as better suited for lower status positions. Similarly, Ruiz (2019) found that observers view women who receive dependency-oriented help from men as being lower in status than women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men or either kind of help

from other women. Taken together, these findings are consistent with Nadler's (2002) model of intergroup helping: by offering dependency-oriented help to women, men may maintain their higher status in the gender hierarchy and in the workplace.

Although researchers who have studied the intersection of dependency-oriented help and benevolent sexism are usually concerned with status relations, it is possible that dependency-oriented help may have other consequences for female beneficiaries that go beyond status. For example, it is possible that the intersection of benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help may also impact perceptions of the female beneficiary's competence. Recall that benevolently sexist behavior perpetuates gender stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Further, research on gender stereotypes often find that women are stereotyped as warm but incompetent while men are stereotyped as cold but competent (e.g. Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011). Taken together, this also suggests that men offering and women receiving dependency-oriented help may reinforce gender stereotypes about women's competence, and this is particularly relevant for women in the workplace.

Two studies have investigated the consequences that receiving dependency-oriented help may have on women's competence. In the first study, Becker and colleagues (2011) had participants read a vignette wherein a male employee offers a female coworker help on a computerized task. Importantly, the male helper frames his ask in a patronizing way that devalues women as a group (e.g., "Fixing the network server is a frustrating thing for women to do. Let me do that for you."). Observers viewed women who accepted the man's patronizing offer of help as incompetent but warm, and they viewed women who rejected the man's patronizing offer of help as competent but cold. The second study is Ruiz (2019), which builds on Becker et al. (2011), but expands on it in the following ways: 1) whereas Becker et al. (2011)

only looked at the effects of dependency-oriented help on women, this study included an autonomy-oriented help condition as a point of comparison; 2) the gender of the helper was manipulated so that it is not always a man; 3) there was a greater focus on observer evaluations of the helper; and 4) the patronizing aspect of the man's offer of help was removed so that the effects of help are not conflated with observer's reaction to the man's overt sexism. In the rest of this section, I will detail the results presented in Ruiz (2019) and then explain why this work might call into question what we know about why individuals endorse benevolent sexism and the effects of helping behaviors on women's competence in the workplace.

Ruiz (2019) hypothesized that dependency-oriented help negatively impacts perceptions of a female beneficiary's competence and positively impacts perceptions of the male helper's competence. This should occur because dependency-oriented help reinforces gender differences between groups; men who offered dependency-oriented help should be perceived as high in competence, and women who received dependency-oriented help should be perceived as low in competence. Further, the author hypothesized that dependency-oriented help may be a behavior rooted in benevolent sexism, and, as such, benevolent sexism beliefs should affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and evaluations of beneficiary and helper competence. In particular, because observers who endorse benevolent sexism more readily accept gender differences between men and women, observers have their existing beliefs reinforced and they place the female beneficiary in a subordinate position to the male helper when they see a woman receiving dependency-oriented help.

Thus, Ruiz (2019) tested whether observers who witnessed a woman receiving help from a man judge the woman negatively when she received dependency-oriented help as opposed to when she received autonomy-oriented help. In an online experiment, participants read a vignette

about two coworkers discussing an assignment that one of them is working on. At one point in the conversation, one coworker (whose gender varies by condition) offered the other coworker (who is always female) help on the assignment. The type of help varied by condition. In the dependency-oriented help condition, the coworker offered to complete the assignment for the woman. In the autonomy-oriented help condition, the coworker offered to give the woman a tip that would allow her an easier time in completing the assignment herself. After reading the scenario, observers evaluated both coworkers with regards to their perceived competence, and they completed a measure of benevolent sexism.

Overall, the author found that observers who are high in benevolent sexism do not evaluate women any differently when a man offers a woman dependency-oriented help or autonomy-oriented help. When an observer is low in benevolent sexism, however, they evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help from men as lower in competence than women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men. Importantly, observers (regardless of their benevolent sexist beliefs) did not evaluate female helpees any differently when another woman offered help (regardless of the type of help), so these results only occur with a male helper and a female beneficiary. These results are surprising for two reasons. First, the author hypothesized that observers high in benevolent sexism would negatively evaluate women receiving help. However, only observers who were low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluated the female beneficiary receiving dependency-oriented help. This finding is particularly interesting because it highlights that there was not a clear link between benevolent sexism as a behavior and the endorsement of benevolent sexism since it was individuals who did not endorse benevolent sexism that seemingly approved of the benevolent sexist behavior. Second, this result is inconsistent with Becker et al. (2011), who found that observers viewed women who received

dependency-oriented help as low in competence, especially when the observer endorsed benevolent sexism. Thus, at a minimum the effects of receiving dependency-oriented help on a woman's competence in Ruiz (2019) are inconsistent with past research and merit further investigation.

Additionally, observers who are high in benevolent sexism do not evaluate men any differently when they offer women either dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help. Observers who are low in benevolent sexism, however, evaluate men who offer dependency-oriented help to women as lower in competence than men who offer autonomy-oriented help to women. These negative evaluations only occurred for male helpers who offered dependency-oriented help; observers did not negatively evaluate female helpers, regardless of the type of help they offered. These results in Ruiz (2019) on the effects of dependency-oriented help and the competence evaluations of male helpers were also surprising. The author hypothesized that observers high in benevolent sexism would positively evaluate the man who offered dependency-oriented help. This is because these observers might view the man as particularly competent since he is able to complete the task by himself. Further, by offering dependency-oriented help, the man would come across as agentic and in line with masculine gender role behavior. This study, however, found that men who offered dependency-oriented help were actually evaluated negatively by observers who are low in benevolent sexism, and there were no effects among those high in benevolent sexism.

To summarize, when observers low in benevolent sexism witnessed a male helper offering dependency-oriented help to a female beneficiary, observers negatively evaluated the competence of both the helper and the beneficiary. The results pertaining to the effects of dependency-oriented help on female beneficiaries run counter to what was previously found in

the literature (Becker et al., 2011). The source of these discrepancies seems to be the effects of benevolent sexism as a moderator; previous research has found results using observers who endorse benevolent sexism, whereas Ruiz (2019) found results using observers who did not endorse benevolent sexism. This raises the question of whether there may be other explanations for why observers might negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help. For example, it could be that observers who are low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate female beneficiaries because they recognize the sexism inherent in dependency-oriented help and thus react negatively to the whole situation. If that is the case, then it could be the lack of endorsement of benevolent sexism that is causing this reaction. Alternatively, there could be some other characteristic that is associated with benevolent sexism that may be causing this reaction and thus, there may be other concepts that might also explain the results of dependency-oriented help on women similar to the endorsement (or lack of endorsement) of benevolent sexism.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO BENEVOLENT SEXISM**

Benevolent sexism can be parsed into two separate categories: Benevolent sexism as an individual difference (i.e., the extent to which individuals endorse views such as “women should be protected by men”) and benevolent sexism as a behavior (i.e., actions that may be rooted in benevolent sexism such as protecting a woman from the unwanted advances of another man). Multiple studies have found a clear connection between the endorsement of benevolent sexism and benevolently sexist behavior. For example, men who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to make self-interested decisions for their female romantic partners without their consent (Hammond & Overall, 2015), are more likely to suggest to a female partner that she not be allowed to work in dangerous areas (Moya et al., 2007), and are more likely to provide dependency-oriented help to female help seekers (Shnabel et al., 2016). Yet, some researchers have found a less clear link between the endorsement of benevolent sexism and benevolently sexist behaviors. For example, although one might expect men who endorse benevolent sexism to be protective of female acquaintances, men who endorse benevolent sexism attribute less blame and recommend shorter sentences to their acquaintance’s sexual assaulter (Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004).

In addition, research on helping behaviors has highlighted the disconnect between endorsement of benevolent sexism and benevolent sexist helping behaviors. Although individuals who endorse benevolent sexism theoretically should approve of men who give dependency-oriented help to women (a benevolent sexist behavior), Ruiz (2019) found that observers high in benevolent sexism did not evaluate these men any more positively than observers low in benevolent sexism. Further, there have been some inconsistent results between

the endorsement of benevolent sexism and reactions to witnessing helping behaviors. On one hand, Becker and colleagues (2011) found that observers who are *high* in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men. On the other hand, Ruiz (2019) found that observers who are *low* in benevolent sexism are the ones who negatively evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men. Because the empirical reality of benevolent sexism does not always seem to match what researchers theorize the endorsement of benevolent sexism should entail, it is important for us to reexamine what the endorsement of benevolent sexism actually means and to consider other concepts that may be related to benevolent sexism and that could serve as better predictors of its effects.

In this dissertation, I argue that three concepts might co-occur with the endorsement of benevolent sexism: power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness. Importantly, I am not arguing that these three concepts should replace the measurement of benevolent sexism endorsement in studies or that these three concepts should be considered as part of benevolent sexism. Rather, I am arguing that these three concepts are associated with benevolent sexism and can thus extend and enrich the theorizing on benevolent sexism in the workplace.

There may be other concepts that are also associated with benevolent sexism. I have listed ten potential psychological characteristics that may be related to benevolent sexism in Table 1. I have grouped these variables into three categories: traits which are positively associated with benevolent sexism, traits which are situationally induced where individuals who are high in benevolent sexism may be more sensitive to the situations that make these traits salient, and traits that are negatively associated with benevolent sexism. In choosing to focus on power distance,

specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness, I am focusing on the most relevant trait in the context of helping behaviors in the workplace for each of those categories.

Power distance is the degree to which people accept or believe that organizational or societal power should be distributed unequally (Hofstede, 1980). Power distance is particularly important to consider in the context of workplace helping behaviors because researchers have linked helping to group status and power differences (Nadler, 2002). For example, individuals use helping behaviors as a means to reinforce status differences between powerful groups and groups that lack power in a society (e.g., Nadler et al., 2009). Second, specific self-confidence is a generalized expectancy for success in specific domains (Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983). Specific self-confidence is important to consider for helping behaviors because the kinds of gendered tasks that women may receive help with in the workplace, such as tasks that deal with technology, are ones that may impact their specific self-confidence. Lastly, stigma consciousness is the extent to which individuals believe that their stereotyped status pervades their interactions with members of the dominant group in society (Pinel, 1999). Stigma consciousness is important to consider for women who receive help in the workplace because this trait allows beneficiaries to pick up on the sexist intonations of receiving help. While there may be many other concepts that co-occur with the endorsement of benevolent sexism and helping behaviors beyond what is listed in Table 1, those concepts are beyond the scope of this dissertation and provide avenues for future research in this area. In the rest of this section, I will discuss each of these three concepts and explain in more detail their connection to the endorsement of benevolent sexism.

**TABLE 1 – Characteristics Related to Benevolent Sexism**

Concept	Definition	Connection to Benevolent Sexism	Effect on Beneficiary's Competence
<i>Positive Correlates with Benevolent Sexism</i>			
Power Distance (Hofstede, 1980; Lian, Ferris, & Brown, 2012)	The degree to which people accept or believe that organizational or societal power should be distributed unequally.	Both individuals high in power distance and high in benevolent sexism show deference to hierarchy. Individuals low in power distance value egalitarianism in relationships just as individuals low in benevolent sexism value egalitarianism between genders. Likewise, benevolent sexism and power distance are correlated at the national level.	For beneficiaries, receiving dependency-oriented help makes the power differences between helper and beneficiary salient. This causes them to devalue their competence in an attempt to reinforce these power differences.
Individualism (Hofstede, 1980)	The degree to which people focus on individual goals rather than collective goals.	People who hold individualistic values focus on self-reliance and devotion to work. Benevolent sexism posits that men are better suited for the workplace because of their abilities and devotion to the task. Thus, individualistic people may endorse benevolent sexism to the extent that they value the abilities of men over women.	Highly individualistic beneficiaries are likely to respond negatively to receiving dependency-oriented help because they lose their agency. Halo effects may cause them to negatively evaluate themselves since the interaction is unpleasant for them.
Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto, Sidanius,	The degree to which people prefer inequality among social groups.	People who are high in social dominance orientation endorse belief systems that place certain groups over other. Often, this correlates with	For female beneficiaries, dependency-oriented help makes the power differences inherent in male-female relationships salient. This causes

Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)		modern racism, modern sexism, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism.	female beneficiaries who are high in SDO to devalue their competence in an attempt to be subordinate to the male helper.
Belief in a Just World (Lerner, 1980)	The degree to which people believe that the world is predictable and fundamentally just.	People who believe strongly in the just world theory tend to disregard or even deny injustices in the world. Like those who endorse benevolent sexism, those who believe in the just world theory are likely to see gender differences as occurring naturally and are not likely to believe that these differences are a cause of inequality.	Women who believe in the just world theory are likely to accept the stereotype that women are less competent than men. This stereotype may be activated when women receive dependency-oriented help and thus they would devalue their own competence.
<i>Situational Correlates with Benevolent Sexism</i>			
Specific Self-Confidence (Matthews, Deary, and Whiteman, 2003)	The degree to which people expect to be successful in a specific domain or situation.	Women who endorse benevolent sexism may be susceptible to situations in the workplace which might negatively affect their self-confidence. These women believe that men and women belong with different spheres in the workplace, so if they have to perform in situations which are more stereotypically masculine, their self-confidence will suffer.	Women, especially those who endorse benevolent sexism, may be particularly susceptible to situational characteristics that impact their self-confidence. Receiving dependency-oriented help in the workplace may be one situation which may cause women to devalue their self-confidence and thus their competence.
Anxiety Sensitivity (Taylor, 2014)	The degree to which people are sensitive to	Women exhibit higher rates of anxiety than men and researchers think this	Women, especially those who endorse benevolent sexism, may be

	situations that may give them anxiety.	is thought to be due to differences in socialization. To the extent that women who endorse benevolent sexism also act more in line with gender differences due to socialization, they may also be more sensitive to anxiety, especially when they are in situations which force them to act in gender atypical ways.	particularly susceptible to situational characteristics that cause them anxiety. Receiving dependency-oriented help in the workplace may be one situation which may cause women to become anxious which may impact feelings of competence.
Reciprocation Wariness (Cotterell, Eisenberger, & Speicher, 1992)	The degree to which people fear that they might be exploited in interpersonal relationships.	Women who endorse benevolent sexism may be more likely to act in communal ways that are congruent with gender stereotypes. To the extent that they want to ensure that the interpersonal relationships that they are involved are healthy and productive, they may be particularly wary of being exploited in these relationships.	Individuals who display high rates of reciprocation wariness may be focused on whether they are being exploited in a helping relationship to the detriment of their performance on the task at hand. They may believe that the help is making them perform worse, and thus they feel less competent overall.
<i>Negative Correlates with Benevolent Sexism</i>			
Stigma Consciousness (Pinel, 1999)	The degree to which people are sensitive to being stigmatized for their social identity.	Women who are high in benevolent sexism endorse gender stereotypes, and thus these women are likely low in stigma consciousness since individuals high in stigma consciousness are more likely to reject gender stereotypes. Further, women who endorse benevolent sexism are less likely to recognize and	Women low in benevolent sexism and thus high in stigma consciousness may recognize the sexist implications of dependency-oriented help and thus may be better able to resist the effects that it has on her own competence.

		resist gender inequality, which by definition, would make them low in stigma consciousness.	
Feminist Identity Development (Downing & Roush, 1985)	The degree to which women have achieved an authentic and positive feminist identity.	Women who are high in benevolent sexism endorse gender stereotypes, and thus these women are not likely to have developed an identity as a feminist. Further, women who endorse benevolent sexism are less likely to recognize and resist gender inequality, which also means that they are not likely to be beyond the first stage of feminist identity development.	Women who are far along in their feminist identity development may recognize the sexist implications of dependency-oriented help and thus may be better able to resist the effects that it has on her own competence.
Sensitivity to Injustice (Schmitt, Neumann, & Montada, 1995)	The degree to which people are sensitive to injustices in the world and are motivated to act to correct those injustices.	Women who endorse benevolent sexism are less likely to recognize and resist gender inequality, which also means that they are not likely to be very sensitive to gender injustices.	Individuals who are highly sensitive to injustice may recognize that dependency-oriented is a form of injustice and thus may be better able to resist the effects that it has on their own competence.

### ***Power Distance***

Hofstede (1980) proposed four dimensions of cultural values that can be used to assess a country's culture: power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, and uncertainty avoidance. Of the four, power distance is of particular interest to the present research, and it refers to the extent to which a society accepts that power in institutions is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 1980). Although Hofstede warned that cultural values like

power distance are only useful at the societal level, researchers find that his proposed cultural values have a large variation among individuals within societies (Farh, Hackett, & Liang, 2007). For example, the United States is considered to be highly individualistic and is categorized by a moderate to high level of power distance (Erez & Earley, 1987), yet in individualistic cultures like the United States only around 60% of the population would consider themselves individualistic (Triandis & Suh, 2002). Further, researchers have found that individual levels of power distance can have detrimental effects on a variety of outcomes, such as trust in supervision (Kirkman, Chen, Fahr, Chen, & Lowe, 2009), perceptions of procedural justice (Lee, Pillutla, & Law, 2000), and reactions to abusive supervision (Tyler, Lind, & Huo, 2000). In this dissertation, I will argue that power distance is associated with benevolent sexism and thus could potentially explain the effects of benevolent sexist behaviors.

At the individual level, power distance is the degree to which people accept or believe that organizational or societal power should be distributed unequally (Hofstede, 1980; Lian, Ferris, & Brown, 2012). In organizations, studies involving power distance at the individual level tend to focus on supervisor-subordinate relationships. For example, individuals higher in power distance perceive their supervisors as superior and elite, and thus they are more likely to respect, defer to, and trust supervisors (Kirkman et al., 2009). Similarly, employees higher in power distance are more likely to use supervisors as behavioral role models and to believe that their supervisors attained their superior position due to special characteristics inherent to the individual (Lain et al., 2012). Bochner and Hesketh (1994) found that employees higher in power distance prefer more autocratic or patriarchal supervisor styles and are more willing to submit to and be respectful of their supervisor's decisions than employees lower in power distance (although one study found that non-autocratic management styles foster team performance



regardless of employees' levels of cultural power distance preference, Rao & Pearce, 2016). This deference to supervisors may be why employees who are higher in power distance are less likely to perceive abusive supervision as unfair or as constituting a lack of respect (Tyler et al., 2000), and why these employees are more likely to view their supervisors' decisions as procedurally just (Lee, Pillutla, & Law, 2000). Researchers have also tied individual level power distance variations to organizational outcomes. For example, lower power distance employees are more likely to perform OCBs and endorse transformational leadership styles than higher power distance employees (Kirkman et al., 2009).

Although researchers have shown that power distance as an individual characteristic can have effects on a variety of organizational phenomena, there is little research that explores the intersection between power distance and gender roles. This is surprising since the same logic that applies to the supervisor-subordinate relationship in the eyes of those higher in power distance can also apply to gender hierarchy in the eyes of those high in benevolent sexism. Indeed, there is some evidence showing that, at least at the national level, countries that are higher in power distance also tend to score higher in endorsement of benevolent sexism (Glick, 2005). Therefore, it is possible that this association may exist on the individual level. For example, individuals higher in power distance value patriarchal management styles (i.e., styles that prize masculinity and command-and-control tactics) and show deference to hierarchy (Westwood, 1997). Similarly, individuals higher in benevolent sexism value patriarchal relationships and show respect for gender hierarchies (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Likewise, individuals lower in power distance value egalitarianism in relationships just as individuals lower in benevolent sexism value egalitarianism between genders. Thus, it is possible that endorsement of benevolent sexism reflects a preference for higher power distance in relationships.

## **Specific Self-Confidence**

Self-confidence is defined as a generalized expectancy for success (Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983). Self-confidence is a broad concept, and researchers and laypeople alike often mistake it for other related constructs (Oney & Oksuzoglu-Guven, 2015). For example, it is important to distinguish self-confidence from self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is one's own assessment of one's ability, whereas self-confidence includes an assessment of one's abilities along with an expectancy that one can use those abilities appropriately (Gist & Mitchell, 1992; Oney & Oksuzoglu-Guven, 2015). Similarly, it is important to distinguish between self-confidence and self-esteem. Self-esteem is the extent to which an individual believes in their own capability, worthiness, and success, and it generally refers to an individual's positive or negative attitude towards themselves (Coopersmith, 1967; Rosenberg, 1965). As such, self-esteem is a much broader concept than self-confidence because self-confidence focuses more on assessments of self-performance. Although self-confidence is generally a narrower concept than self-esteem, it can sometimes feel expansive in scope given that researchers have found it useful to distinguish between general and specific self-confidence. General self-confidence is part of one's personality and is fairly stable over time, whereas specific self-confidence is not stable because it is based on task-specific capabilities which are updated after new experiences with that task (Demo, 1992, Matthews, Deary, & Whiteman, 2003). Importantly, an individual's specific self-confidence can change depending on situational factors. In this dissertation, I will argue that an individual's specific self-confidence may be associated with benevolent sexism in specific situations.

Research on gender and self-confidence has found that, while there are no significant differences in the general self-confidence of men and women, women generally have less

specific self-confidence than men (Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983). Generally, gender differences in self-confidence tend to be domain specific; various studies have found that women are less confident than men in their ability to perform well in masculine domains (Lundeberg, Fox, & Puncocchar, 1994). Since most modern workplaces still prize masculine values and male stereotyped skills (Rudman & Phelan, 2008), the workplace (with the exception of some highly feminized industries) is a particularly interesting domain to study gender and specific self-confidence because it pushes both men and women towards performing masculine gender roles.

Benevolent sexism posits that men and women are complementary, with men possessing more agentic traits such as competitiveness and decisiveness and women possessing more communal traits such as warmth and empathy (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Individuals who endorse benevolent sexism may desire to be in situations where they can enact their appropriate gender roles. For men who endorse benevolent sexism, the workplace allows them to act in line with their gender roles. Since men who conform to masculine gender roles report increased self-esteem and psychological well-being (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), it is possible that these men may also feel more self-confident. For women who endorse benevolent sexism, workplaces with masculine cultures may have particularly detrimental effects on their self-confidence because women's specific self-confidence is more sensitive to situational cues (Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983), and because these workplaces encourage the performance of masculine gender roles. In other words, because women who endorse benevolent sexism support traditional gender roles, these women may feel less confident when they are forced to step outside of these roles in the workplace. Supporting this, Ruble (1983) theorized that self-confidence is a masculine characteristic since boys are expected to develop self-confidence early on whereas girls are punished for displaying self-confidence. Overall, women's lower specific

self-confidence could be associated with greater endorsement of benevolent sexism such that women who endorse benevolent sexism respond to situations where they have to perform in gender nonconforming ways similar to women who lack specific self-confidence.

### **Stigma Consciousness**

Stigma is an attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued within particular social contexts (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Major & O'Brien, 2005). In stigmatization, attributes that one may have that carry a stigma become associated with negative evaluations and stereotypes, which often become the basis for excluding or avoiding members of stigmatized categories (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Although members of dominant and non-dominant groups in society may stereotype and negatively evaluate each other, the views of dominant groups, with their greater power and access to resources, are likely to prevail (Link & Phelan, 2001). Taken together, stigma exists when labeling, negative stereotyping, and discrimination coexist in a situation that allows these stereotypes to flourish (Link & Phelan, 2001).

Individuals differ in their sensitivity to being stigmatized. Some individuals who are targets of objective discrimination may fail to see it as such, and some individuals may believe that they are the target of discrimination when they are not (Stangor, Swim, Sechrist, DeCoster, Van Allen, & Ottenbreit, 2003). For example, in one experiment, researchers created two newspapers—one with headlines with heightened sexist language, and one with headlines that were more neutral in tone. Women who were sensitive to perceiving sexist events estimated a higher occurrence of sexist behavior headlines for both newspapers (Stangor, Swim, & Sechrist, 1999). Stigma consciousness, then, is a psychological characteristic referring to the extent to which individuals believe that their stereotyped status pervades their interactions with members

of the dominant group in society (Pinel, 1999, 2004). Stigma consciousness does not only refer to awareness of one's stereotyped status, but also one's *focus* on one's stereotyped status. Researchers found that stigma consciousness influences attribution for performance feedback. For example, women who were high in stigma consciousness were more likely to attribute a negative performance review to discrimination than were women who were low in stigma consciousness, despite both groups of women receiving the same performance review (Pinel, 2004). Further, individuals high in stigma consciousness may be more likely to actually reject stereotypes about their group (Pinel, 1999). Additionally, individuals high in stigma consciousness are often more vulnerable to stereotype threat effects than in-group members who are low in stigma consciousness (Brown & Pinel, 2003). Lastly, women with high levels of stigma consciousness are more likely than women with low levels of stigma consciousness to think that their male interaction partners are sexist and act critically towards them (Pinel, 2000). In this dissertation, I will argue that women's level of stigma consciousness is negatively associated with benevolent sexism and thus could potentially explain the effects of benevolent sexist behaviors.

If women who are high in benevolent sexism endorse gender stereotypes, these women are likely low in stigma consciousness since individuals high in stigma consciousness are more likely to reject gender stereotypes (Pinel, 1999). Further, endorsement of benevolent sexism causes women to be complicit in systems that disadvantage women. For example, priming women with benevolent sexism (i.e., creating a temporary state of endorsement) causes women to believe that societal systems are fair and balanced, which undermines their resistance to inequality (Jost & Kay, 2005). Similarly, priming women with benevolent sexism causes them to decrease their intention to engage with collective action, such as attending a rally for equal pay

for women and signing a petition to increase the number of women in executive positions (Becker & Wright, 2011). Lastly, as mentioned earlier, women who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to ignore evidence that their organization treats women unfairly if the organization contains at least some form of formal diversity policy (Brady et al., 2015). Thus, because women who endorse benevolent sexism are less likely to recognize and resist gender inequality, they are also likely to be low in stigma consciousness. As such, the extent to which a woman endorses of benevolent sexism should affect her level of stigma consciousness.

Thus far, I have described the negative impact that benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help have on women. I have also described three psychological characteristics (power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness) that I propose are associated with benevolent sexism, and that could potentially provide insights into the conditions where we are likely to see benevolent sexist behaviors. In the next section, I will devise tests of these three psychological characteristics by building on previous research on benevolent sexism and helping behaviors.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **PROPOSED TESTS OF RELATED PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS**

In this dissertation, I have reviewed the research on benevolent sexism and helping behaviors with a particular focus on how women who receive dependency-oriented help are seen as incompetent by outside observers. In addition, I have argued that researchers should consider power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness as connected to people's endorsement of benevolent sexism. In this section, I marry these two lines of thought by proposing tests of theory with the goal of fully understanding the impact that dependency-oriented help has on female beneficiaries, specifically focusing on whether benevolent sexism, power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness impact this relationship. By conducting these tests, I hope to show that these three well-established concepts co-occur with the endorsement of benevolent sexism, can extend and enrich the theorizing on benevolent sexism in the workplace.

First, I will investigate the effects of dependency-oriented help on perceptions of the competence of beneficiaries and helpers as well as on the task performance of beneficiaries. Second, I will argue that these well-established concepts are associated with benevolent sexism, with each contributing to explain the effects of these helping behaviors on both male helpers and female beneficiaries.

#### **Beneficiary's Competence**

Previous research on helping behaviors has shown that dependency-oriented help causes beneficiaries to experience lower self-esteem and self-worth (Halabi, Nadler, & Dovidio, 2011), experience more negative affect (Wakefield, Hopkins, & Greenwood, 2012), and feel disrespected and untrustworthy (Alvarez & Van Leeuwen, 2011), however, this research has not

investigated whether receiving dependency-oriented help may cause beneficiaries to doubt their own competence. This is particularly important in the context of gender because women are stereotyped to be less competent than men. In the workplace, feelings of competence lead to psychological empowerment, which is positively related to managerial effectiveness and innovative behaviors (Spreitzer, 1995). Thus, it is possible that receiving dependency-oriented help may have a variety of negative consequences for women in the workplace. Therefore, I seek to test the following question: Does dependency-oriented help have an effect on a woman's self-perceptions of competence when she receives it from a male helper?

Some researchers have attempted to shed light on this question by investigating the intersections of benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help. For instance, Shnabel and colleagues (2016) found that men who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to provide dependency-oriented help to women. The authors contend that this occurs because these men feel that they must paternalistically protect women but not protect other men, whom they consider to be self-reliant. Thus, because of its paternalistic implications, offering dependency-oriented help to a woman may be considered an act of benevolent sexism. Researchers have shown that exposure to benevolent sexism causes women to doubt their own competence. For example, women who are exposed to a recruiter who used benevolently sexist language evaluate themselves as less competent than women who are exposed to hostile sexism or no sexism at all (Dardenne et al., 2007). Relatedly, women who experience more instances of benevolent sexism in STEM programs report more feelings of incompetence and fewer feelings of self-efficacy in the workplace than women who are less exposed to benevolent sexism (Kuchynka, Salomon, Bosson, El-Hout, Kiebel, Cooperman, & Toomey, 2017). Taken together, I hypothesize the following:



*Hypothesis 1a: Women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism will evaluate their own competence more negatively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's endorsements of benevolent sexism will be unassociated with their evaluations of their own competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Contrary to benevolent sexism, it is possible that a female beneficiary's power distance preferences can be used as a potential explanation for why a woman who receives dependency-oriented help might positively instead of negatively evaluate her own competence. Recall that researchers have shown that members of dominant groups offer dependency-oriented help more to subordinate groups as a means to convey status and power superiority (Nadler, 2002). Also recall that subordinate groups tend to be complicit in this display by power by asking for dependency-oriented help more often than autonomy-oriented help from dominant groups (Shnabel et al., 2016). For example, women who endorse benevolent sexism were more likely to ask for dependency-oriented help over autonomy-oriented help from a male helper. Taken together, female beneficiaries higher in power distance may accept a social hierarchy that places men over women, especially in the context of helping behaviors. Given that dependency-oriented help conveys a hierarchical superiority, women who are higher in power distance may prefer dependency-oriented to autonomy-oriented help, and as such, may feel more competent for following the orders of her superior.

Although research on the link between power distance preferences and competence has been scant, one study found that individuals higher in power distance can feel more empowered in work situations with hierarchical superiors (Fock, Hui, Au, & Bond, 2013) and feelings of empowerment are closely linked to feelings of competence (Spreitzer, 1995). Thus, women higher in power distance and who receive dependency-oriented help should feel more competent

following receiving this form of help. I do not expect male beneficiaries who are higher in power distance to positively evaluate their own competence. These men may already feel that they are at the top of the social hierarchy, and they may simply feel entitled to help regardless of the form. Thus, relative power distance preferences can help explain why only female beneficiaries positively evaluate their competence when they receive dependency-oriented help from men as opposed to women.

*Hypothesis 1b: Women relatively lower in power distance will evaluate their own competence more negatively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's power distance preferences will be unassociated with their evaluations of their own competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

A female beneficiary's specific self-confidence may also be used as a potential explanation for why women who receive dependency-oriented help might negatively evaluate their own competence. Recall that women have been found to be more susceptible to situational characteristics that affect their specific self-confidence than men are. Previous research also shows that women are more likely to report lower feelings of specific self-confidence during a situation when that situation involves masculine ability areas (Schein, 1973), vague performance feedback (Katz & Kahn, 1970), and social comparison (Lenney, 1977; Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983). Women who receive dependency-oriented help in the workplace may experience one or more of these situational factors. For example, they may receive help on a task that is stereotypically masculine; they may receive advice that is dependency-oriented in nature, which is often vague because it consists of the answer as opposed to specific feedback about the question or task at hand; or they may receive help in a situation in which their performance is being judged by their peers or superiors. Women who endorse benevolent sexism may be

particularly sensitive to these situational characteristics that can impact their specific self-confidence. Because women who endorse benevolent sexism have a strong preference for performing femininely, any of these situational characteristics that could force them to perform acts that are stereotypically masculine may compound the negative impact that these situations will have on their specific self-confidence. It follows that a decrease in specific self-confidence on a task would cause a decrease in feelings of competence on that task. As such, specific self-confidence can help explain why only female beneficiaries who are high in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate their competence when they receive dependency-oriented help from men.

*Hypothesis 1c: Women lower in specific self-confidence will evaluate their own competence more negatively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's specific self-confidence will be unassociated with their evaluations of their own competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Lastly, a female beneficiary's level of stigma consciousness can be used as a potential explanation for why women who receive dependency-oriented help might negatively evaluate their own competence. If women who are high in benevolent sexism endorse gender stereotypes, then these women are likely low in stigma consciousness since individuals high in stigma consciousness are more likely to reject gender stereotypes. As such, women who are high in benevolent sexism and low in stigma consciousness will be less likely to detect the sexism implications of a man offering dependency-oriented help, and thus may be more susceptible to its effects. Women low in benevolent sexism and high in stigma consciousness may recognize the sexist implications of the help, and thus may be better able to resist the effects that dependency-oriented help has on their own competence. Thus, stigma consciousness can help

explain why only female beneficiaries who are high in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate their competence when they receive dependency-oriented help from men.

*Hypothesis 1d: Women who are less stigma conscious will evaluate their own competence more negatively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's level of stigma consciousness will be unassociated with their evaluations of their own competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Thus far, I've argued that the endorsement of benevolent sexism inconsistently explains individuals' conduct or how individuals are affected by benevolent sexist behaviors. I have also argued that power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are associated with benevolent sexism: Individuals who endorse benevolent sexism also believe that people who behave in less egalitarian ways to each other under certain circumstances in the same way as those who prefer power distance in relationships, women who endorse benevolent sexism respond to situations where they have to perform in gender nonconforming ways similar to women who lack specific self-confidence, and women who endorse benevolent sexism respect traditional differences between genders in the same way as those women who are low in stigma consciousness. As such, I expect that, when testing the effect that dependency-oriented help has on the confidence of female beneficiaries, the relationship between dependency-oriented help and benevolent sexism will decline significantly when controlling for the beneficiary's power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness.

Further, I've argued that benevolent sexism affects the relationship between dependency-oriented help and the beneficiary's competence such that the higher female beneficiaries are in benevolent sexism the more negatively they evaluate their own competence after receiving dependency-oriented help from a man. I have also argued that power distance, specific self-

confidence, and stigma consciousness co-occur with benevolent sexism, particularly when applied to helping behaviors. Because I am arguing that these three concepts enrich our understanding of the relationship between benevolent sexism and helping behaviors, the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism on beneficiary's competence should significantly decrease once these three characteristics are accounted for. Further, if power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness also enhance the negative relationship between dependency-oriented help and the beneficiary's competence such that female beneficiaries evaluate themselves as lower in competence when they prefer less power distance, have a low specific self-confidence, or are low in stigma consciousness (i.e. Hypotheses 1b-1d are correct), then this has implications for those who wish to address benevolent sexist behaviors in the workplace by providing constraints on the effectiveness of addressing benevolent sexist beliefs and behaviors while ignoring these more fundamental personal preferences and values. By testing the relationship between these three characteristics and benevolent sexism, I hope to further our understanding of helping behaviors as well as extend and enrich the theorizing and effective practice addressing benevolent sexism in the workplace. Thus, the effects of benevolent sexism should significantly reduce once power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled, particularly in contexts where female beneficiaries receive dependency-oriented help from men. Stated more formally:

*Hypothesis 1e: For women who receive dependency-oriented help from men, the relationship between the beneficiary's competence and benevolent sexism is significantly reduced when power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled.*

### **Beneficiary's Task Performance**

One of the main aims of the present research is to go beyond evaluations of individuals who receive dependency-oriented help and explore whether being the beneficiary of dependency-oriented help actually influences future behavior. Specifically, in this dissertation I investigate whether receiving dependency-oriented help on a task causes the beneficiary to actually perform worse on that task. Interestingly, to my knowledge there has been no research that tests whether dependency-oriented help impacts task performance. Studies in this tradition focus on conditions by which participants ask for or offer dependency-oriented help (e.g., Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014; Shnabel et al., 2016). There is some literature, however, suggesting that exposure to benevolent sexism might negatively affect task performance for women. For example, priming women with benevolent sexism impairs women's cognitive performance (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dardenne et al., 2013). Also as mentioned earlier, women who experience more instances of benevolent sexism in STEM programs perform worse in STEM classes (Kuchynka et al., 2017). Further, if Hypothesis 1a is correct and women high in benevolent sexism who receive dependency-oriented help are more likely to confirm the stereotypical belief that they are less competent than men, then this belief might translate to their performance on a task. This is because minority groups are likely to conform to the activation of negative group stereotypes (Major & O'Brien, 2005). In other words, receiving dependency-oriented help may activate negative stereotypes about women's task performance and cause women to conform to those stereotypes. As such, I predict the following:

*Hypothesis 2a: Women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism will perform worse after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's endorsements of benevolent sexism will be unassociated with their task performance when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Further, it is possible that a woman's relative power distance preferences may affect her task performance after receiving dependency-oriented help. I have argued above that dependency-oriented help reinforces status and power differences between men and women. If dependency-oriented help conveys hierarchical superiority (Nadler, 2002), then women who are higher in power distance are likely used to dependency-oriented help and may prefer it to autonomy-oriented. As such, they may feel more comfortable receiving dependency-oriented help and thus perform better for following the orders of her male helper. Previous research on individual-level power distance has not tied the construct to task performance, although power distance has been tied to feelings of psychological empowerment (Fock et al., 2013) and researchers have shown that feeling empowered can positively affect performance (Chen, Kirkman, Kanfer, Allen, & Rosen, 2007). Thus, relative power distance preferences can help explain why female beneficiaries perform better when they receive dependency-oriented help from men.

*Hypothesis 2b: Women relatively lower in power distance will perform worse after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's power distance preferences will be unassociated with their task performance when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

A woman's specific self-confidence may also be a factor that contributes to the proposed negative relationship between receiving dependency-oriented help and task performance. Recall that specific self-confidence refers not only to an individual's assessment of their own abilities but also to individuals' assessments of the likelihood that they can use those abilities to successfully complete a task. Previous research has shown that assessments of one's specific self-confidence on a task can predict performance on said task (Oney & Oksuzoglu-Guven,

2015; Vealey, 1986). Therefore, it is possible that, if Hypothesis 1c is correct and women who receive dependency-oriented help report lower feelings of specific self-confidence and competence, then these women may also perform worse on cognitive ability tests.

*Hypothesis 2c: Women lower in specific self-confidence will perform worse after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's specific self-confidence will be unassociated with their task performance when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

A woman's level of stigma consciousness may also contribute to the proposed negative relationship between receiving dependency-oriented help and task performance. If women who are high in benevolent sexism are low in stigma consciousness, then these women will be less likely to detect the sexism implications of a man offering dependency-oriented help, and thus may be more susceptible to its effects. Women low in benevolent sexism and high in stigma consciousness may recognize the sexist implications of the help, and thus may be better able to resist the effects that dependency-oriented help has on their own competence. To the extent that such help should have a negative effect on women's performance on cognitive ability tests, women who are high in stigma consciousness should be able to better resist the effects of dependency-oriented help than women low in stigma consciousness.

*Hypothesis 2d: Women who are less stigma conscious will perform worse after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's level of stigma consciousness will be unassociated with their task performance when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Further, I've argued that benevolent sexism affects the relationship between dependency-oriented help and task performance such that the higher female beneficiaries are in benevolent sexism the worse they perform after receiving dependency-oriented help from a man. I have also argued that power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness co-occur with



benevolent sexism, particularly when applied to helping behaviors. If these characteristics are indeed associated with benevolent sexism, then the relationship between dependency-oriented help and task performance should significantly decrease once these three characteristics are taken into account. Further, if power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness also enhance the negative relationship between dependency-oriented help and task performance such that female beneficiaries perform worse when they have lower power distance preferences, have a low specific self-confidence, or are low in stigma consciousness (i.e., Hypotheses 2b, 2c, & 2d are correct), then this adds additional confidence that these variables can explain the effects of benevolent sexism. As such, the effects of benevolent sexism should significantly reduce once power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled, particularly in contexts where female beneficiaries receive dependency-oriented help from men. Stated more formally:

*Hypothesis 2e: For women who receive dependency-oriented help from men, the relationship between the task performance and benevolent sexism is significantly reduced when power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled.*

### **Helper's Competence**

To fully understand the interaction between dependency-oriented help and gender, we need to investigate what effects offering dependency-oriented help may have on the male helper. Ruiz (2019) found that individuals who were low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluated men who offered dependency-oriented help. I plan to see if this finding applies when men actually give help on a task. It is particularly important to study the implications that giving help has on the helper as organizations become more aware of the benefits of OCBs and altruistic helping behaviors in the workplace (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). As employees become encouraged

to provide help to their coworkers, they may inadvertently provide dependency-oriented help to others, which may cause both the beneficiary and the helper to be seen negatively. Thus, this dissertation also seeks to answer the following question: Do female beneficiaries who are low in benevolent sexism and receive dependency-oriented help negatively evaluate the competence of their helpers?

Research on the evaluations of those who offer dependency-oriented help has been scant. To my knowledge, only Alvarez and Van Leeuwen (2011) have investigated this, and they find that beneficiaries tend to positively evaluate peers who offer them dependency-oriented over autonomy-oriented help. The authors argue that this happens presumably because subjects did not view their helper as having the authority and expertise to provide proper autonomy-oriented help. It is possible that benevolent sexism might strengthen this relationship. Women who endorse benevolent sexism may appreciate the fact that a man is helping them on a task because they are acting in accordance with masculine social roles. Likewise, it is possible that women low in benevolent sexism may view their male peer's help as patronizing in nature and judge the man negatively in response. Thus, it is possible that the relationship between the men who offer dependency-oriented help and the beneficiary's evaluations of the helper's competence is affected by the beneficiary's level of benevolent sexism since beneficiaries who endorse benevolent sexism may recognize that the helper is acting chivalrously and thus positively evaluate him.

*Hypothesis 3a: Women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism will evaluate their helper's competence more positively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's endorsements of benevolent sexism will be unassociated with their evaluations of their helper's competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from.*

I also expect participants' relative power distance preferences to explain why women receiving dependency-oriented help may positively evaluate their helpers. This is because individuals with a higher preference for power distance have reverence for individuals who are hierarchically superior to them, and since offering dependency-oriented help conveys status superiority (Nadler, 2002) these women would be more likely to positively evaluate the helper. On the other hand, the women who have a lower preference for power distance may negatively evaluate men who give them dependency-oriented help because they would prefer if the help given to them was more egalitarian. As such, I predict the following:

*Hypothesis 3b: Women relatively higher in power distance will evaluate their helper's competence more positively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's power distance preferences will be unassociated with their evaluations of their helper's competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

A female beneficiary's level of specific self-confidence should also explain why she may positively evaluate the competence of a male helper who gives her dependency-oriented help. Women who are high in specific self-confidence may not think that they need help on the task at hand and they may be particularly resentful of dependency-oriented help since this form of help takes away her agency to perform the task the way she sees fit (Nadler, 1998). Women high in specific self-confidence may view the dependency-oriented help that they receive as a form of assumptive help, which is help the beneficiary does not consent to, since they might not believe that they need it. Researchers have shown that recipients of assumptive help more negatively evaluate their helpers than when they did not receive assumptive help (Halabi et al., 2011). On the other hand, women who are low in specific self-confidence may appreciate any help they receive on the task. Thus, to the extent that beneficiaries tend to positively evaluate helpers who

give dependency-oriented help (Alvarez & Van Leeuwen, 2011), low levels of specific self-confidence in the beneficiaries should strengthen this relationship.

*Hypothesis 3c: Women lower in specific self-confidence will evaluate their helper's competence more positively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's specific self-confidence will be unassociated with their evaluations of their helper's competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

I also expect variations in the level of stigma consciousness in beneficiaries to explain why some beneficiaries positively evaluate the competence of men who give them dependency-oriented help. Women who low in stigma consciousness will not interpret the male helper's actions and anything other than positive because they do not recognize the sexist implications of dependency-oriented help. Likewise, if women who are high in stigma consciousness receive dependency-oriented help from a man, they are more likely to evaluate his actions as being sexist since they are generally more aware of how his help might follow gendered norms of behavior that negatively stigmatizes them. As such, I would expect the following:

*Hypothesis 3d: Women who are less stigma conscious will evaluate their helper's competence more positively after receiving dependency-oriented help from men; however, women's level of stigma consciousness will be unassociated with their evaluations of their helper's competence when they receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Lastly, I've argued that benevolent sexism affects the relationship between dependency-oriented help and helper competence such that the higher female beneficiaries are in benevolent sexism the more positively they evaluate men who give them dependency-oriented help. I have also argued that power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness can co-occur with the endorsement of benevolent sexism, particularly when applied to helping behaviors. If

these characteristics are associated with endorsing benevolent sexism, then the effect that benevolent sexism has on the relationship between dependency-oriented help and helper competence should significantly decrease once these three characteristics are taken into account. Further, if power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness also enhance the positive relationship between dependency-oriented help and helper competence such that female beneficiaries evaluate male helpers more positively when they are higher in power distance, are low in specific self-confidence, or are low in stigma consciousness (i.e., Hypotheses 3b, 3c, & 3d are correct), then this adds additional confidence that these personal characteristics need to be taken into account in understanding endorsement of benevolent sexism. As such, the effects of benevolent sexism and assessments of helper's competence should significantly reduce once power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled for, particularly in contexts where female beneficiaries receive dependency-oriented help from men. Stated more formally:

*Hypothesis 3e: For women who receive dependency-oriented help from men, the relationship between helper competence and benevolent sexism is significantly reduced when power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are controlled.*

### **Observer Perceptions of Beneficiary's Competence**

One last aim of the present research is to investigate the effects that receiving dependency-oriented help may have on outside observers' evaluations of the beneficiary since previous research on this phenomenon has yielded inconsistent results. On one hand, recall that Becker and colleagues (2011) found that observers *high* in benevolent sexism negatively evaluated the competence of women who received dependency-oriented help from men. The authors argued that observers high in benevolent sexism who witnessed a woman accept a man's

offer of help have their beliefs about women's competence reinforced by the interaction. On the other hand, Ruiz (2019) found that observers who are *low* in benevolent sexism are the ones who negatively evaluated the competence of women who received dependency-oriented help from men. The author did not find any evidence that observers high in benevolent sexism evaluated women who received dependency-oriented help as less competent than women who received autonomy-oriented help. The author theorized that observers low in benevolent sexism recognized the sexism inherent in the dependency-oriented helping interaction and thus negatively evaluated both the beneficiary and the helper. Thus, one aim of this paper to clear up these conflicting findings, and as such, I propose competing hypotheses reflecting the above conflicting findings: either observers *high or low* in benevolent sexism should negatively evaluate the competence of female beneficiaries. Stated more formally:

*Hypothesis 4a: Observers who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism will evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men more negatively; however, observers' beliefs in benevolent sexism will be unassociated with their evaluations of the competence of women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Versus:

*Hypothesis 4b: Observers who less strongly endorse benevolent sexism will evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men more negatively; however, observers' beliefs in benevolent sexism will be unassociated with their evaluations of the competence of women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Individual variations in power distance preferences can help explain why observers may negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help. When an individual who prefers a higher power distance in relationships sees a man give a woman dependency-oriented

help, an act that is hierarchical by its very nature, they may be more willing to accept the act as normal and would not negatively evaluate the competence of the woman receiving help. Those lower in preference for power distance, however, do not like the hierarchical nature of dependency-oriented help the woman receives, and thus they would negatively evaluate the competence of the woman for accepting the help and being complicit in the hierarchy. Thus, I hypothesize the following:

*Hypothesis 4c: Observers relatively lower in power distance will evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men more negatively; however, observers' power distance preferences will be unassociated with their evaluations of the competence of women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Stigma consciousness may also explain why some observers negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help. If observers are high in stigma consciousness, then they would be sensitive to the fact that the male helper is being patronizing to the female helpee and to the fact that the entire interaction reinforced gender norms surrounding helping behaviors. It would make sense, then, that these observers would negatively evaluate the woman for being complicit and not pushing back against his behavior. Observers high in benevolent sexism, then, may be lower in stigma consciousness, meaning that they would not pick up on the benevolent sexism that is inherent in the helping interaction and would therefore see no reason to evaluate the beneficiary any differently. Since male observers are not the ones whose identity group is stigmatized by receiving dependency-oriented help, I would expect that stigma consciousness only explains why female observers would negatively evaluate the competence of women who receive help.

*Hypothesis 4d: Observers who are more stigma conscious will evaluate the competence of women who receive dependency-oriented help from men more negatively; however, observers' level of stigma consciousness will be unassociated with their evaluations of the competence of women who receive autonomy-oriented help from men.*

Further, I've argued that benevolent sexism affects the relationship between dependency-oriented help and observer's evaluations of the female beneficiary such that observers either higher or lower in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate the female beneficiary after receiving dependency-oriented help from a man. I have also argued that power distance and stigma consciousness co-occur with benevolent sexism, particularly when applied to helping behaviors. If these characteristics are indeed associated with benevolent sexism, then the relationship between dependency-oriented help and observer's evaluations of female beneficiaries should significantly decrease once these two characteristics are taken into account. Further, if power distance and stigma consciousness also enhance the negative relationship between dependency-oriented help and observer evaluations of female beneficiaries such that observers more negatively evaluate the competence of female beneficiaries when they are lower in power distance or are low in stigma consciousness (i.e. Hypotheses 4c & 4d are correct), then this adds additional confidence that these variables can explain the effects of benevolent sexism. As such, the effects of benevolent sexism should significantly reduce once power distance and stigma consciousness are controlled, particularly in contexts where observers evaluate female beneficiaries who receive dependency-oriented help from men.

*Hypothesis 4e: For women who receive dependency-oriented help from men, the relationship between observer evaluations of the beneficiary's competence and benevolent sexism is significantly reduced when power distance and stigma consciousness are controlled.*



Overall, I plan on testing the effects of dependency-oriented help on the beneficiary's competence and task performance, the helper's competence, and observer evaluations of the beneficiary's competence through three experimental studies (see Table 2 for overview of hypotheses). In conducting these studies, I add to the existing research on benevolent sexism by expanding on and developing theory about the effects of benevolent sexism in the workplace while accounting for anomalous findings in previous research. Additionally, I add to the literature on help in the workplace by showing that certain kinds of helping behaviors may negatively impact both an individual's performance on the task for which they are receiving help and evaluations of the male helpers.

**TABLE 2**

Summary of Hypotheses				
	<i>Beneficiary's Competence</i>	<i>Beneficiary's Task Performance</i>	<i>Helper's Competence</i>	<i>Observer Evaluation of Beneficiary's Competence</i>
Benevolent Sexism	Hypothesis 1a	Hypothesis 2a	Hypothesis 3a	Hypothesis 4a/b
Power Distance	Hypothesis 1b	Hypothesis 2b	Hypothesis 3b	Hypothesis 4c
Self Confidence	Hypothesis 1c	Hypothesis 2c	Hypothesis 3c	N/A
Stigma Consciousness	Hypothesis 1d	Hypothesis 2d	Hypothesis 3d	Hypothesis 4d
Summary of Experimental Studies				
<i>Study</i>	<i>Hypotheses Tested</i>			
Study 1	Hypotheses 1a, 2a & 3a			
Study 2	Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e 3a 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e			
Study 3	4a, 4b, 4c, 4d, 4e			

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **STUDY 1 – BENEVOLENT SEXISM AND DEPENDENCY-ORIENTED HELP**

#### **Participants, Design and Procedure**

I recruited 199 women for this study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk website. As part of a series of attention checks for the study, I included a question that asked the participant to verify one of the experimental conditions in the study (gender of the helper). I removed individuals who did not answer the question in line with the manipulation. I also included four attention checks throughout the survey that asked the participants to select 'strongly disagree' to continue. I removed from the study all participants who selected answers other than 'strongly disagree,' and they did not receive payment. In total, I removed 55 participants for failing these attention checks, leaving 144 participants in the final sample. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 72 years ( $M = 35.88$ ,  $SD = 11.04$ ), with almost 50% of the sample falling within the 26-39 age range. The participants were 75% White, 13% Asian/Pacific Islander, 5% Latinx, 6% Black, and the remaining identified as Native American, Mixed Race, or Other. Participants were paid \$0.50 for their participation.

I conducted a 2 (Type of Help: Dependency, Autonomy) X 2 (Gender of Helper: Male, Female) experimental design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the study's four experimental conditions. As a cover story, participants were told that they were taking part in a study on internet-based interactions. After filling out demographic questions, participants were directed to the experiment's first part, which was ostensibly about online dating. This part included the Benevolent Sexism scale (see below). To disguise the study's real purpose, four filler questions about online dating (e.g., "Online dating is ineffective because both men and women provide false information about themselves") were interspersed throughout the

questionnaire. Then participants were brought to the second part of the study, which was supposedly about team-based online interactions. Participants were told that they would be paired with an online partner (see Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014; Shanbel et al., 2016) who would help them take a cognitive ability test measuring mathematical and logical ability, similar to selection tests in some industries. Participants learned that one individual would be in a student role, which meant that they would actually have to solve the test, and one individual would be in an instructor role, which meant that they had to help the student solve the test. All participants were informed that they were randomly assigned to the student role.

Next, participants answered five questions typical of a cognitive ability test. To verify that they indeed solved these questions, participants could not continue without answering all of them. After completing the test the participants were informed that they got two answers wrong. They then received a message from their instructor that corresponded with the experiment's manipulation (see below). Participants then had to take a second version of the test which mirrored the first test in content but with different questions. Participants' number of correct items for the second test served as the overall measure for how well they performed after receiving help. Please see Appendix A for a full version of this test. Afterwards, the participants filled out a questionnaire that evaluated how they felt during the test and how they felt about their partner. Upon completion participants were thanked and debriefed.

***Type of Help Manipulation.*** The type of help received by the participants varied across conditions. In the dependency help condition, the instructor gave the participant the answers to the questions they missed without explanation. In the autonomy help condition, the instructor gave the participant a helpful hint to the questions that they missed. For example, an instructor in

the autonomy help condition gave the following hint to a question on number patterns: “For question 2, you have to multiply and then add to find the pattern.”

***Helper Gender Manipulation.*** The gender of the helper in the interaction between coworkers varied across conditions. In the male helper condition, the instructor they are paired with is a man named John. In the female helper condition, the instructor they are paired with is a woman named Kate.

## **Measures**

***Benevolent Sexism.*** Participants completed the 11-item benevolent sexism portion of the ambivalent sexism inventory that measures the extent to which participants agreed with statements such as, “women should be cherished and protected by men,” “men should sacrifice to provide for women,” and “despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women;” ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of benevolent sexism wherein higher scores indicate greater endorsement of benevolent sexism. The items used were adapted from Glick & Fiske (1996). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the inventory. See Table 3 for correlations between all variables.

TABLE 3

Study 1 – Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.

Measures	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	0.48	0.50	—					
2. Helper Gender <sup>2</sup>	0.48	0.50	.06	—				
3. Benevolent Sexism ( $\alpha = .89$ )	3.71	1.14	-.05	.06	—			
4. Beneficiary's Competence ( $\alpha = .90$ )	4.93	1.22	-.08	.08	.02	—		
5. Beneficiary's Performance	3.32	1.17	.02	.04	-.33**	.11	—	
6. Helper's Competence ( $\alpha = .87$ )	5.36	1.21	-.31**	.01	.15	.13	-.21*	—

1: Variable coded as 0 for autonomy-oriented help and 1 for dependency-oriented help.

2: Variable coded as 0 for male helpers and 1 for female helpers.

\* $p < .05$

\*\* $p < .01$

**Manipulation Check.** Participants completed a two item manipulation check in which they described how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “My partner gave me advice that allowed me to solve the problem on my own;” and “My partner gave me a hint that allowed me to succeed on my own;” ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Items were averaged to create an overall measure to test whether participants received autonomy-oriented help. The particular items used were inspired by the manipulation checks in Shnabel et al., (2016).

**Perceived Competence - Beneficiary.** Participants completed a three item measure of perceived competence in which they described how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “I felt capable during this interaction;” “I felt intelligent during this

interaction;” and “I felt competent during this interaction;” ( $\alpha = .90$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of perceived competence wherein higher scores indicate perceptions of their greater competence. The particular items used were inspired by those developed by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) as a means to characterize perceptions of the competence of identity groups. Please see Appendix A for the full scale.

**Task Performance.** Participants’ task performance was operationalized by the number of correct answers they received on the second version of the cognitive ability test.

**Perceived Competence – Helper.** Participants completed a three item measure of perceived competence in which they described how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “My partner was capable during this interaction;” “My partner was intelligent during this interaction;” and “My partner was competent during this interaction;” ( $\alpha = .87$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of perceived competence wherein higher scores indicate greater perceptions of their helper’s competence. The particular items used were inspired by those developed by Fiske et al., (2002) as a means to characterize perceptions of the competence of identity groups. Please see Appendix A for the full scale.

## Study 1 Results

**Manipulation check.** A one way ANOVA indicated that my manipulations for type of help were successful. Participants in the dependency-oriented help condition ( $M = 4.03$ ,  $SD = 1.68$ ) were less likely to agree that their interaction partner provided them the help they need to succeed on their own compared to those in the autonomy-oriented help condition ( $M = 5.36$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ),  $F(1, 140) = 30.04$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2_p = 0.17$ .

***Beneficiary's Competence.*** I regressed the beneficiary's competence on type of help, gender of helper, benevolent sexism, and all four interactions between variables. The results of all three regressions conducted as part of Study 1 are presented in Table 4. In line with my theorizing, the three-way interaction between type of help, gender of helper, and benevolent sexism was significant,  $\beta = 0.89$ ,  $t(133) = 2.38$ ,  $p = .02$ . To interpret these results, I examined the effects of beneficiaries' benevolent sexist beliefs and type of help on competence as a function of helper gender. As illustrated in Figure 1, a simple slope analysis showed that female beneficiaries who more strongly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (+1 *SD*) evaluated themselves as lower in competence when they received dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help from male helpers,  $\beta = -1.12$ ,  $t(133) = -2.65$ ,  $p = .01$ , whereas female beneficiaries who more weakly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (-1 *SD*) did not evaluate themselves any differently regardless of whether they received dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help from male helpers  $\beta = 0.20$ ,  $t(133) = 0.49$ ,  $p = .62$ . Further, female beneficiaries did not evaluate themselves any differently when they received either autonomy or dependency-oriented help from female helpers regardless of whether they were high in benevolent sexism,  $\beta = 0.35$ ,  $t(133) = 0.83$ ,  $p = 0.41$ , or low in benevolent sexism,  $\beta = -0.27$ ,  $t(133) = -0.62$ ,  $p = 0.54$ . Thus, I found support for Hypothesis 1a – women who endorse benevolent sexism evaluate themselves as lower in competence after receiving dependency-oriented help from a male helper.



**TABLE 4**  
**Study 1 Linear Regression Models**

	Beneficiary's Competence	Beneficiary's Task Performance	Helper's Competence
(Intercept)	0.04 (0.20)	-0.16 (0.18)	0.33 (0.18) †
Type of Help	-0.48 (0.30)	0.26 (0.27)	-0.91 (0.28) **
Helper Gender	0.02 (0.29)	0.40 (0.26)	0.04 (0.27)
Benevolent Sexism	0.32 (0.18) †	-0.43 (0.17)*	0.14 (0.17)
Type of Help X Helper Gender	0.50 (0.42)	-0.55 (0.39)	0.11 (0.39)
Type of Help X Benevolent Sexism	-0.62 (0.26)*	0.18 (0.24)	-0.44 (0.25) †
Helper Gender X Benevolent Sexism	-0.46 (0.25) †	0.21 (0.23)	0.07 (0.23)
Type of Help X Helper Gender X Benevolent Sexism	0.89 (0.37)*	-0.38 (0.34)	0.76 (0.35)*
Model <i>F</i>	2.99	1.40	4.10
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.14*	0.07	0.18**

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded as 0 for autonomy-oriented help and 1 for dependency-oriented help.*

*2: Variable coded as 0 for male helpers and 1 for female helpers.*

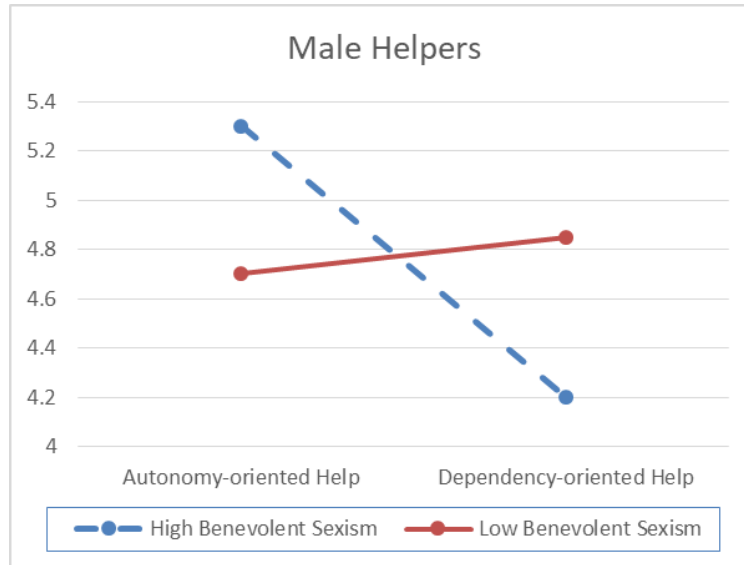
†*p* < .10

\**p* < .05

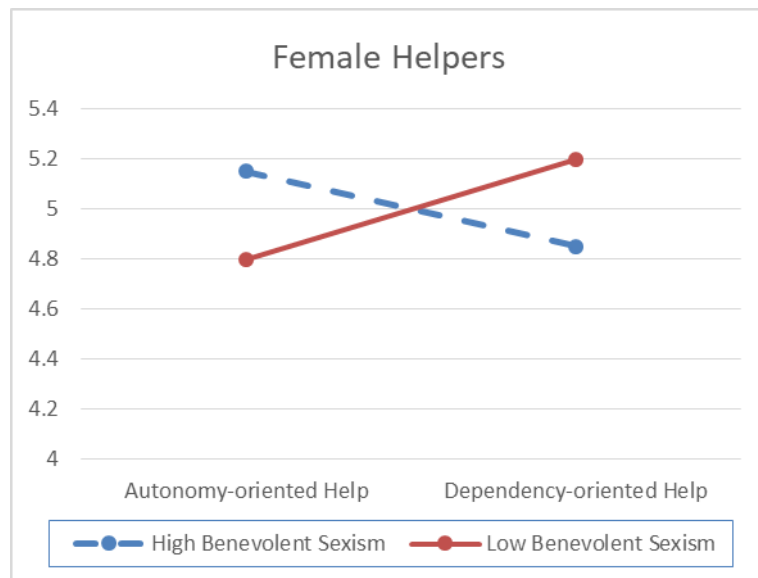
\*\**p* < .01

**FIGURE 1**

**Simple Slopes for Beneficiary's Competence and Type of Help for High and Low Levels of Benevolent Sexism**



(a) Male Helpers



b) Female Helpers

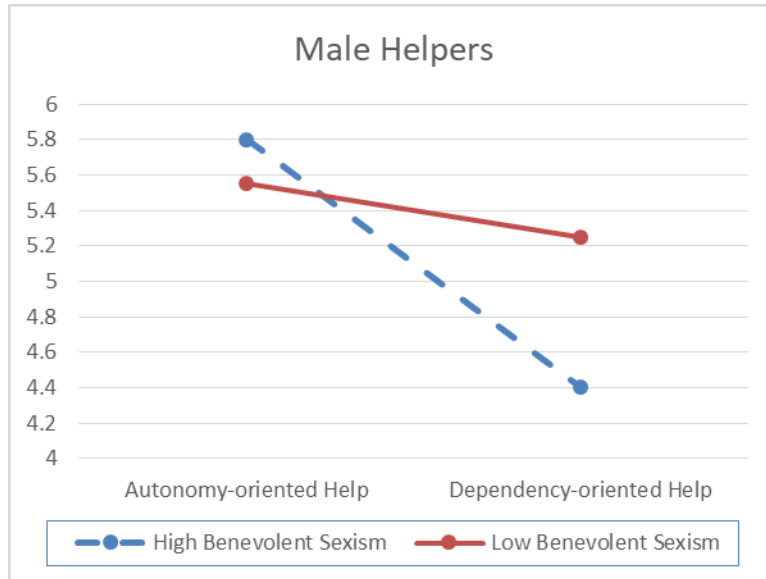
***Beneficiary's Task Performance.*** I regressed the beneficiary's task performance on type of help, gender of helper, benevolent sexism, and all four interactions between variables (see Table 4 for results). Unfortunately, the three-way interaction between type of help, gender of helper, and benevolent sexism was not significant,  $\beta = -0.38$ ,  $t(133) = -1.12$ ,  $p = .27$ . The only significant variable in this model was the main effect for benevolent sexism,  $\beta = -0.43$ ,  $t(133) = -2.53$ ,  $p = .01$ , meaning that the more participants endorsed benevolent sexism, the worse they performed on the task. Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 2a – women who strongly endorse benevolent sexism do not perform any worse on a task after they received dependency-oriented help from a man on that task.

***Helper's Competence.*** I regressed the helper's competence on type of help, gender of helper, benevolent sexism, and all four interactions between variables (see Table 4 for results). As predicted, the three-way interaction between type of help, gender of helper, and benevolent sexism was significant,  $\beta = 0.76$ ,  $t(133) = 2.19$ ,  $p = .03$ . To interpret these results, I examined the effects of beneficiaries' benevolent sexist beliefs and type of help on helper's competence as a function of helper gender. As illustrated in Figure 1, a simple slope analysis showed that female beneficiaries who more strongly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (+1 *SD*) evaluated their helpers as lower in competence when they received dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help from male helpers,  $\beta = -1.36$ ,  $t(133) = -3.77$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas female beneficiaries who more weakly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (-1 *SD*) did not evaluate their helpers any differently regardless of whether they received dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help from male helpers  $\beta = -0.42$ ,  $t(133) = -1.21$ ,  $p = 0.23$ . Further, female beneficiaries who are high in benevolent sexism did not evaluate their helpers any differently when they received either autonomy or dependency-oriented help from another woman,  $\beta = -0.42$ ,  $t(133) =$

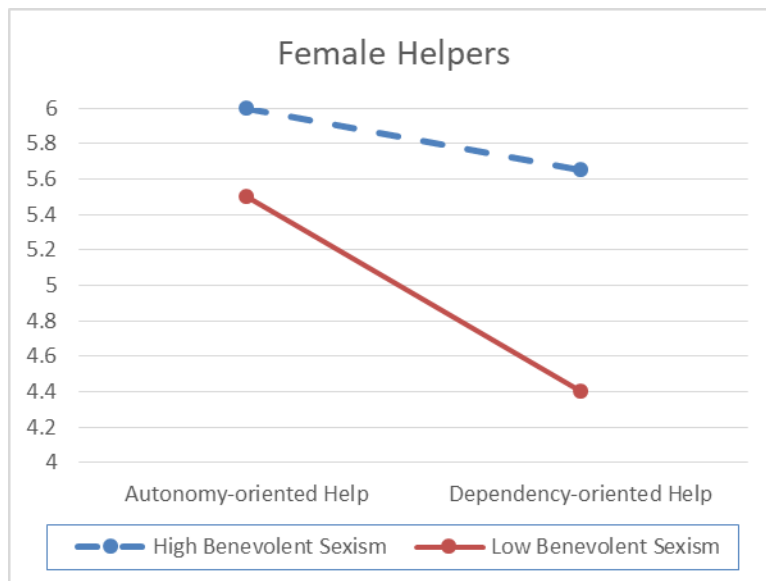
-0.99,  $p = 0.32$ . However, female beneficiaries who are low in benevolent sexism evaluated their helpers more negatively when they received dependency-oriented help from another woman,  $\beta = -1.15$ ,  $t(133) = -2.67$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 3a because I found that women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism negatively (as opposed to positively) evaluate their male helpers after they receive dependency-oriented help.

**FIGURE 2**

**Simple Slopes for Helper's Competence and Type of Help for High and Low Levels of Benevolent Sexism**



(a) Male Helpers



(b) Female Helpers

## Study 1 Discussion

Overall, in Study 1, I find that women who endorse benevolent sexism negatively evaluate their own competence after receiving dependency-oriented help on a test from a male helper, but this does not occur when they receive dependency-oriented help from a female helper. Thus, I find support for Hypothesis 1a. I also found that women who endorse benevolent sexism do not perform any worse on a cognitive ability test after receiving dependency-oriented help from a male helper. Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 2a. Taken together, it seems like although helping behaviors do not negative impact the task performance for those who receive them, they could cause women to doubt their own competence which could hurt women in the workplace.

Further, I find in Study 1 that women who are higher in benevolent sexism also negatively evaluate the competence of men who give them dependency-oriented help. Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 3a because I originally predicted that women who are high in benevolent sexism would positively evaluate the competence of their male helpers. Interestingly, this finding highlights a potential disconnect between endorsements of benevolent sexism and benevolent sexist behavior since women who endorse benevolent sexism react negatively when a benevolent sexist behavior (dependency-oriented help) is directed towards them. This finding is in line with previous research which found that although individuals who endorse benevolent sexism should approve of men who give dependency-oriented help to women (a benevolent sexist behavior), observers who endorse benevolent sexism actually did not evaluate these men any more positively than observers who held no benevolent sexist beliefs (Ruiz, 2019). In that research, and in Study 1 here, the empirical reality does not seem to match what I hypothesized the endorsement of benevolent sexism should entail. Overall, my findings on the beneficiary's

evaluations of their helper competence are complex, and benevolent sexism does not seem to be adequately explained by my findings alone. In the next two studies, I will test other psychological characteristics that may be associated with the endorsement of benevolent sexism, at least in the context of exploring helping behaviors.

Study 1 suffers from a major limitation in that the execution of the cognitive ability test was flawed, which may be the reason why I failed to find support for Hypothesis 2a. One of the biggest problems with the test is that it may have been too easy for participants. Approximately 45% of participants scored a 4 or 5 out of 5 on the cognitive ability test. Part of this problem is due to the features of the test itself: all participants essentially take a practice test before they take the real test, and so their scores should increase during the second round. To remedy this in Study 2, I made the test more difficult as well as added additional questions to increase variance. Further, I had a few participants email me to ask if something was wrong with the test because they got all of the answers correct on the first version of the test yet they still received help. In Study 2, I more thoroughly pre-tested to ensure that the questions that participants received help on were hard enough that most people would get them wrong. I also pretested to ensure that participants get only 60% of the questions correct on average. Lastly, there were a number of people (around 10%) who scored either a 0 or 1 on the final version of the test. These low scores might be due to participants for whom English was not their native language. In Study 2 I made sure to include another attention check halfway through the test, and I better screened for individuals that speak English as their primary language.

Therefore, Study 2 serves as a replication of Study 1 but with two very important differences: 1) I use it to test the theoretical extension hypotheses related to power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness in order to enhance the results found in Study

1; and 2) I made changes to the features of the cognitive ability test to increase variance and hopefully the likelihood of finding results of the behavioral dependent variable.



## CHAPTER 6

### STUDY 2 – TESTS OF THREE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### Participants, Design and Procedure

Prior to collecting participants, I ran a power analysis to determine sample size based on the small effect sizes I reported for Study 1. To achieve 80% power for  $\alpha = .05$  with an estimated effect size of 0.10, I would need a target sample size of 99 participants. Therefore, I recruited 115 women through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Like in Study 1, I included five questions throughout the survey that served as attention checks. I removed 9 people from the study for failing these attention checks. Additionally, I removed 6 people from the study who answered all cognitive ability test questions correctly during the first test and thus were not exposed to the study's manipulation. This left a total of 100 participants in the final sample. Participants' age ranged from 21 to 81 years ( $M = 40.03$ ,  $SD = 11.76$ ), with almost 50% of the sample falling within the 28 to 41 age range. The participants were 74% White, 13% Black, 5.0% Latinx, 2% Asian/Pacific Islander, and the remaining identified as Native American, Mixed Race, or Other. Participants were paid \$1.25 for their participation.

I conducted a single factor experimental design and participants were randomly assigned to either a dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help condition. As a cover story, participants were told that they were taking part in a study on internet-based interactions that had three parts. As in Study 1, the experiment's first part was supposedly about online dating and included the Benevolent Sexism scale alongside questions about online dating to disguise the study's true purpose. The participants were then brought to the second part of the study, which was supposedly about gathering personal information from the participants to help match them to a partner in the third part of the study. Here, the participants filled out demographic questions

(age, gender, race, education level, sexual orientation, and work experience), the power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness scales (see below). The participants were then brought to the final part of the study which they were told was about using the internet for training purposes. Participants were told that they would be paired with an online partner (see Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014, Shanbel et al., 2016) who would help them take a cognitive ability test measuring mathematical and logical ability, similar to selection tests in some industries. Participants learned that one individual would be in a mentee role, which means that they would actually have to solve the test, and one individual would be in a mentor role, which means that they would have to help the mentee solve the test. All participants were informed that they were randomly assigned to the mentee role.

Next, participants took a nine question cognitive ability test. To verify that participants indeed solved the questions on the test, participants were not be able to continue without answering all of them. Every time a participant received a wrong answer on the test, they received a message from their mentor that explained the correct answer. The help that the mentor gave corresponds to the type of help manipulation described below. Participants then took a second version of the test so that they could apply the help they received from their mentor. This second test mirrored the first test in content but with different questions. Participants' number of correct items for the second test served as the overall measure for how well they performed after receiving help.

After completing both versions of the test the participants filled out a questionnaire that evaluated how they felt during the test and how they felt about their partner (see Appendix B). Participants were then thanked and debriefed.

***Type of Help Manipulation.*** The type of help participants received varied across conditions. In the dependency help condition, the mentor gave the participant the answers to the questions they missed without explanation. In the autonomy help condition, the mentor gave the participant a helpful hint to the questions that they missed. For example, a mentor in the autonomy help condition might give the following hint to a question on number patterns: “Hint: The pattern is that each number is multiplied by 2 and then you add a sequential number.”

## **Measures**

***Benevolent Sexism.*** I measured benevolent sexism using the same scale that I used in Study 1 ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the scale. See Table 5 for means and correlations between all variables.

**TABLE 5**

**Study 2 – Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.**

Measures	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	0.49	0.50	—							
2. Benevolent Sexism	3.53	1.24	.06	—						
3. Power Distance	3.07	1.04	.09	.50**	—					
4. Specific Self-Confidence	4.91	1.34	-.08	.13	.02	—				
5. Stigma Consciousness	4.61	1.19	-.03	-.02	.05	.04	—			
6. Beneficiary's Competence	4.24	1.55	-.24*	.05	.01	.44**	.12†	—		
7. Helper's Competence	5.52	1.10	-.25*	.05	.05	.17	.03	.00	—	
8. Beneficiary's Task Performance	4.64	2.07	-.01	-.38**	-.31**	-.02	.07	.26*	-.05	—

*1: Variable coded as 1 for dependency-oriented help; and 0 for autonomy-oriented help.*

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

***Power Distance.*** Participants completed a four item measure of power distance in which they describe how much they agree or disagree with statements such as: “There should be established ranks in society with everyone occupying their rightful place regardless of whether that place is high or low in the ranking,” and “People are better off not questioning the decisions of those in authority;” ( $\alpha = .60$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of power distance wherein higher scores indicate greater preference for power distance. Items were taken from Broucker and colleagues (2001) as a means to measure individual differences in power distance. Please see Appendix B for the full version of the scale.

***Specific Self-Confidence.*** Participants completed a five item measure of specific self-confidence in which they describe how much they agree or disagree with statements such as: “I’m confident about performing well,” and “I’m confident of coming through under pressure;” ( $\alpha = .95$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of specific self-confidence wherein higher scores indicate greater feelings of specific self-confidence. Items were taken from the self-confidence subscale of the Revised Competitive State Anxiety–2 (Cox, Martens, & Russell, 2003), which was developed to assess athletes’ situational level of specific self-confidence following their training sessions. Please see Appendix B for the full version of the scale.

***Stigma Consciousness.*** Participants completed a five item measure of stigma consciousness in which they describe how much they agree or disagree with statements such as: “My being female influences how people interact with me,” and “Most men have a problem viewing women as equals;” ( $\alpha = .75$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create an overall measure of stigma

consciousness wherein higher scores indicate greater awareness of stigmatization. Items were taken from Pinel (1999). Please see Appendix B for the full version of the scale.

***Manipulation Check.*** I measured the extent to which participants agreed that they received a hint on how to solve the problems in the same way as Study 1 to test whether participants received autonomy-oriented help ( $\alpha = .95$ ).

***Perceived Competence - Beneficiary.*** I measured perceived competence of the beneficiary in the same way as Study 1 ( $\alpha = .95$ ). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the scale.

***Task Performance.*** Participants' task performance was operationalized as the number of correct answers they received on the second version of the cognitive ability test.

***Perceived Competence – Helper.*** I measured perceived competence of the helper in the same way as Study 1 ( $\alpha = .94$ ). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the scale.

## **Study 2 Results**

***Manipulation checks.*** A one way ANOVA indicated that my manipulations for type of help were successful. Participants in the dependency-oriented help condition ( $M = 2.91$ ,  $SD = 1.82$ ) were likely to disagree that their interaction partner provided them the help they need to succeed on their own compared to those in the autonomy-oriented help condition ( $M = 5.94$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ),  $F(1, 99) = 98.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2_p = 0.51$ .

Further, I tested for multicollinearity in the regressions by calculating the variance inflation factor (VIF) for all variables. The VIF values were low, ranging from 1.00 to 1.48, suggesting little risk of multicollinearity affecting these analyses.

***Beneficiary's Competence.*** The results of all linear regressions conducted as part of the tests for beneficiary's competence are presented in Table 6. First, I regressed beneficiary's

competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism. Results indicated that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.14$ ,  $t(96) = 0.55$ ,  $p = .58$ . However, the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.74$ ,  $t(96) = -2.43$ ,  $p = .02$ , suggesting that women who received dependency-oriented help evaluated their own competence as lower than those who received autonomy-oriented help regardless of their endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Next, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, power distance, and the interaction between type of help and power distance. Results showed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.36$ ,  $t(96) = 1.22$ ,  $p = .23$ , and that the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.74$ ,  $t(96) = -2.51$ ,  $p = .01$ . Therefore, women who received dependency-oriented help evaluated their own competence as lower than those who received autonomy-oriented help regardless of their relative power distance preferences.

Thirdly, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, specific self-confidence, and the interaction between type of help and specific self-confidence. I found that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = -0.06$ ,  $t(96) = -0.27$ ,  $p = .79$ . Further, the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.63$ ,  $t(96) = -2.30$ ,  $p = .02$ , meaning that women, regardless of their level of specific self-confidence, evaluated themselves as lower in competence as they received dependency as opposed to autonomy-oriented help.

Fourthly, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, stigma consciousness, and the interaction between type of help stigma consciousness. Results revealed that the two-way interaction was significant,  $\beta = 0.51$ ,  $t(96) = 2.03$ ,  $p = .04$ . To interpret these results, I examined the effects of type of help, high (+1 *SD*), and low (-1 *SD*) levels of stigma consciousness on competence. As illustrated in Figure 3, a simple slope analysis showed that female beneficiaries

who more stigma conscious did not evaluate themselves any differently regardless of whether they received dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help from male helpers  $\beta = -0.11$ ,  $t(96) = -0.28$ ,  $p = .78$ , whereas female beneficiaries who were less stigma conscious evaluated themselves as lower in competence when they received dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help from male helpers,  $\beta = -1.33$ ,  $t(96) = -3.15$ ,  $p = .002$ . Thus, I find support for Hypothesis 1d, but not for Hypotheses 1a-1c.

**TABLE 6**

**Study 2 Linear Regression Model – Beneficiary’s Competence**

	Benevolent Sexism	Power Distance	Specific Self- Confidence	Stigma Consciousness
(Intercept)	0.28 (0.22)	0.28 (0.22)	0.28 (0.22)	0.28 (0.22)
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.74 (0.30)*	-0.74 (0.30)*	-0.63 (0.28)*	-0.72 (0.30)*
Characteristic	0.02 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.20)	0.52 (0.16)**	-0.12 (0.18)
2-way Interaction	0.14 (0.25)	0.36 (0.29)	-0.06 (0.21)	0.51 (0.25)*
Model <i>F</i>	2.18†	2.47†	9.89**	3.85*
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.06	.07	.24	.11

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

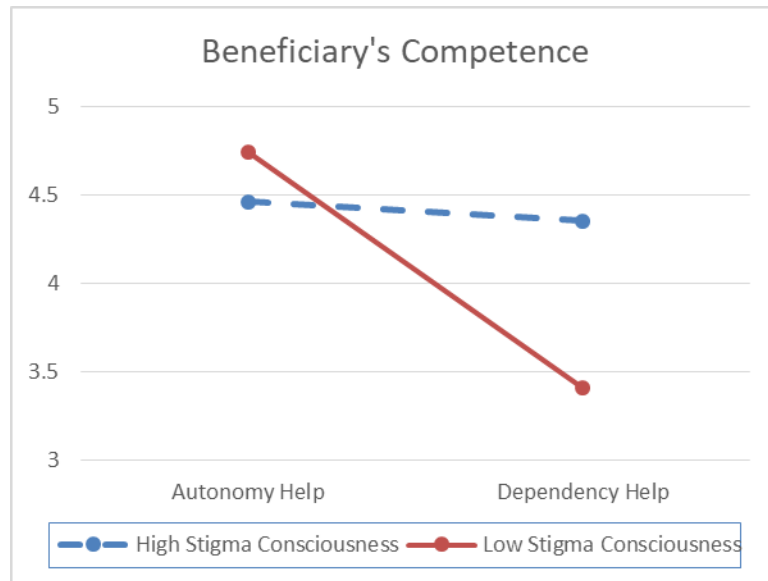
*1: Variable coded 1 for dependency, 0 for autonomy;*

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$



**FIGURE 3**

**Simple Slopes for Beneficiary's Competence and Type of Help for High and Low Levels of Stigma Consciousness**



Lastly, I ran a hierarchical linear regression where Model 1 regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism and where Model 2 included power distance, specific self-confidence, stigma consciousness, and all of their interactions with type of help as additional moderators to test Hypothesis 1e (see Table 7). A z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.07$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $Z = 0.18$ ,  $p = .86$ ). Further, a z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.06$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = 0.00$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $Z = 0.38$ ,  $p = .70$ ). Overall, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 1e.

TABLE 7

## Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Model – Beneficiary's Competence

	Model 1	Model 2
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.74 (0.31)*	-0.64 (0.29)*
Benevolent Sexism	0.02 (0.16)	0.07 (0.19)
Help X Benevolent Sexism	0.14 (0.25)	0.01 (0.30)
Power Distance		-0.09 (0.24)
Help X Power Distance		0.29 (0.32)
Self-Confidence		0.51 (0.16)**
Help X Self-Confidence		-0.10 (0.22)
Stigma Consciousness		-0.11 (0.17)
Help X Stigma Consciousness		0.49 (0.24)*
$\Delta R^2$		.23
$F$ for $\Delta R^2$		4.74**
Total $R^2$	.06	.29
Model $F$	2.16†	4.04**
$df$	(3,96)	(9,90)

Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.

1: Variable coded as 0 for autonomy, 1 for dependency..

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

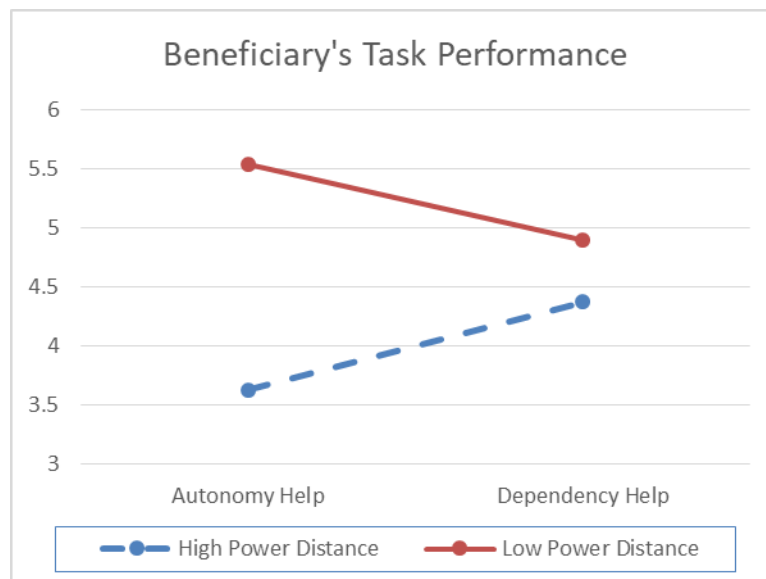
**Beneficiary's Task Performance.** The results of all linear regressions conducted as part of the tests for beneficiary's task performance are presented in Table 8. First, I regressed beneficiary's task performance on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism. Results indicated that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = -0.09$ ,  $t(96) = -0.29$ ,  $p = .78$ . Although the main effect for type of help in this regression was not significant,  $\beta = -0.04$ ,  $t(96) = 0.10$ ,  $p = .92$ , the main effect for benevolent

sexism was significant,  $\beta = -0.59$ ,  $t(96) = -2.85$ ,  $p = .01$ , suggesting that the more women endorse benevolent sexism, the worse they performed on the cognitive ability test regardless of the type of help they received.

Second, I regressed beneficiary's task performance on type of help, power distance, and the interaction between type of help and power distance. Results showed that the two-way interaction was a non-significant trend,  $\beta = 0.66$ ,  $t(96) = -1.71$ ,  $p = .09$ . To interpret these results, I examined the effects of type of help, high (+1 SD), and low (-1 SD) levels of power distance on task performance. As illustrated in Figure 4, a simple slope test showed that female beneficiaries higher in power distance performed better after receiving dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help,  $\beta = 0.74$ ,  $t(96) = -1.70$ ,  $p = .09$ , whereas female beneficiaries lower in power distance did not perform any differently after they received dependency-oriented help,  $\beta = -0.63$ ,  $t(96) = -1.11$ ,  $p = .27$ . Thus, I find some support for Hypothesis 2b.

**FIGURE 4**

**Simple Slopes for Beneficiary's Task Performance and Type of Help for High and Low Levels of Power Distance**



Third, I regressed beneficiary's task performance on type of help, specific self-confidence, and the interaction between type of help and specific self-confidence. I found that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $t(96) = 0.38$ ,  $p = .71$ , and the main effect for type of help was also not significant,  $\beta = -0.05$ ,  $t(96) = -0.12$ ,  $p = .90$ .

Fourth, I regressed beneficiary's task performance on type of help, stigma consciousness, and the interaction between type of help stigma consciousness. Results revealed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $t(96) = 0.32$ ,  $p = .75$ , and the main effect for type of help was also not significant,  $\beta = -0.04$ ,  $t(96) = -0.09$ ,  $p = .93$ . Overall, I found only some support for Hypothesis 2b and no support for Hypotheses 2a, 2c, or 2d.

**TABLE 8**

**Study 2 Linear Regression Model – Beneficiary's Task Performance**

	Benevolent Sexism	Power Distance	Specific Self- Confidence	Stigma Consciousness
(Intercept)	-0.16 (0.26)	-0.14 (0.27)	-0.10 (0.28)	-0.10 (0.28)
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	0.04 (0.39)	0.06 (0.40)	-0.06 (0.47)	-0.05 (0.42)
Characteristic	-0.59 (0.21)**	-0.91 (0.26)**	-0.10 (0.25)	0.07 (0.26)
2-way Interaction	-0.09 (0.32)	0.66 (0.38) †	0.12 (0.32)	0.11 (0.35)
Model <i>F</i>	5.31**	4.39**	0.06	0.23
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.14	.12	.00	.01

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded 1 for dependency, 0 for autonomy;*

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

Lastly, I ran a hierarchical linear regression where Model 1 regressed beneficiary's task performance on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and

benevolent sexism and where Model 2 included power distance, specific self-confidence, stigma consciousness, and all of their interactions with type of help as additional moderators to test Hypothesis 2e (see Table 9). A z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = -0.38$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = -0.27$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ,  $Z = -0.69$ ,  $p = .49$ ). Further, a z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = -0.03$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = -0.16$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $Z = 0.81$ ,  $p = .42$ ). Further, power distance is the only significant predictor of task performance in Model 2,  $\beta = -.85$ ,  $t(96) = -2.53$ ,  $p = .01$ , suggesting that is the best predictor of female beneficiary's task performance even after accounting for all four moderators. Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 2e.

**TABLE 9****Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Model – Beneficiary’s Task Performance**

	Model 1	Model 2
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	0.04 (0.39)	0.06 (0.39)
Benevolent Sexism	-0.59 (0.21)*	-0.19 (0.19)
Help X Benevolent Sexism	-0.09 (0.32)	-0.53 (0.16)
Power Distance		-0.85 (0.34)*
Help X Power Distance		0.82 (0.45)†
Self-Confidence		-0.16 (0.23)
Help X Self-Confidence		0.32 (0.30)
Stigma Consciousness		0.29 (0.24)
Help X Stigma Consciousness		-0.27 (0.34)
$\Delta R^2$		.07
$F$ for $\Delta R^2$		1.30
Total $R^2$	.14	.21
Model $F$	5.31**	2.67**
$df$	(3,96)	(9,90)

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded as 0 for autonomy, 1 for dependency..*

*† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$*

**Helper’s Competence.** The results of all linear regressions conducted as part of the tests for beneficiary’s competence are presented in Table 10. First, I regressed helper’s competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism. Results indicated that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $t(96) = 0.68$ ,  $p = .50$ . However, the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.55$ ,  $t(96) = -2.60$ ,  $p = .01$ , suggesting that women negatively evaluate the competence of men who give them

dependency-oriented as opposed to autonomy-oriented help regardless of their level of endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Second, I regressed helper's competence on type of help, power distance, and the interaction between type of help and power distance. Results showed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.21$ ,  $t(96) = -1.04$ ,  $p = .30$  and that the main effect for type of help was significant,  $\beta = -0.57$ ,  $t(96) = -2.70$ ,  $p = .01$ .

Third, I regressed helper's competence on type of help, specific self-confidence, and the interaction between type of help and specific self-confidence. I found that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = -0.14$ ,  $t(96) = -0.84$ ,  $p = .40$ , and that the main effect for type of help was significant,  $\beta = -0.53$ ,  $t(96) = -2.51$ ,  $p = .01$ .

Fourth, I regressed helper's competence on type of help, stigma consciousness, and the interaction between type of help stigma consciousness. Results revealed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.08$ ,  $t(96) = 0.45$ ,  $p = .65$ , and that the main effect for type of help was significant,  $\beta = -0.54$ ,  $t(96) = -2.52$ ,  $p = .01$ . Thus, I fail to find support for Hypotheses 3a-3d, although I find a consistent main effect for type of help, suggesting that the beneficiary, regardless of her characteristics, penalized men who offered dependency-oriented as opposed to autonomy-oriented help.

**TABLE 10****Study 2 Linear Regression Model – Helper’s Competence**

	Benevolent Sexism	Power Distance	Specific Self- Confidence	Stigma Consciousness
(Intercept)	0.17 (0.15)	0.17 (0.15)	0.17 (0.15)	0.18 (0.15)
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.55 (0.21)*	-0.56 (0.21)*	-0.52 (0.21)*	-0.54 (0.21)*
Characteristic	0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.14)	0.20 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.13)
2-way Interaction	0.12 (0.17)	0.21 (0.20)	-0.13 (0.16)	0.08 (0.18)
Model <i>F</i>	2.49†	2.76*	3.31*	2.27†
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.07	.08	.09	.07

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded 1 for dependency, 0 for autonomy;*

†*p* < .10; \**p* < .05; \*\**p* < .01

Lastly, I ran a hierarchical linear regression where Model 1 regressed helper’s competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism and where Model 2 included power distance, specific self-confidence, stigma consciousness, and all of their interactions with type of help as additional moderators to test Hypothesis 3e (see Table 11). A z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = 0.06$ ,  $SE = 0.13$ ,  $Z = -0.06$ ,  $p = .95$ ). Further, a z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.09$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $SE = 0.13$ ,  $Z = 0.24$ ,  $p = .81$ ). Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 3e.



**TABLE 11****Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Model – Helper’s Competence**

	Model 1	Model 2
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.55 (0.21)*	-0.56 (0.22)*
Benevolent Sexism	0.01 (0.11)	0.00 (0.15)
Help X Benevolent Sexism	0.12 (0.18)	0.09 (0.21)
Power Distance		0.00 (0.19)
Help X Power Distance		0.17 (0.25)
Self-Confidence		0.21 (0.13)
Help X Self-Confidence		-0.17 (0.17)
Stigma Consciousness		-0.02 (0.13)
Help X Stigma Consciousness		0.11 (0.19)
$\Delta R^2$		.05
$F$ for $\Delta R^2$		0.72
Total $R^2$	.07	.12
Model $F$	2.49†	1.30
$df$	(3,96)	(9,90)

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded as 0 for autonomy, 1 for dependency..*

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

**Study 2 Discussion**

Overall, in Study 2 I found that dependency-oriented help had a negative effect on evaluations of the beneficiary’s competence and on the helper’s competence, but it was unrelated to task performance. Further, benevolent sexism, power distance, and specific self-confidence did not affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary’s competence. Stigma consciousness, however, did influence this relationship as women low in stigma

consciousness doubted their own competence more after receiving dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help. As hypothesized, there were no differences in the self-evaluations of women who were high in stigma consciousness regardless of the type of help they received. Additionally, men who provide dependency-oriented help were seen as less competent and this is unaffected by the beneficiary's endorsement of benevolent sexism, power distance, their specific self-confidence, or their level of stigma consciousness. Thus, I found support for Hypothesis 1d, and no support for Hypotheses 1a-1c and 3a-3d.

As in Study 1, I fail to find support for the hypothesis that dependency-oriented help negatively impacts the task performance of female beneficiaries. I did, however, find that power distance interacts with dependency-oriented help to influence task performance. I found that women higher in power distance perform better after receiving dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help and that women lower in power distance did not perform any differently after receiving dependency-oriented help. Therefore, I find some support for Hypotheses 2b, but no support for Hypotheses 2a, 2c, or 2d. Like in Study 1, I find that women who endorse benevolent sexism perform worse on the cognitive ability test than women who hold less benevolently sexist beliefs. Lastly, I found that task performance is unaffected by specific self-confidence or stigma consciousness. Thus, between both studies I can conclude that dependency-oriented help probably does not negatively impact the task performance of women who receive it.

Finally, another aim of the present research is to investigate whether there may be other characteristics which are related to benevolent sexism and that could help better explain some of effects of helping behaviors on women. In Study 2, I found a strong relationship between benevolent sexism and power distance, but benevolent sexism was unrelated to specific self-

confidence or stigma consciousness. Further, I tested to see whether the relationship between benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help would be significantly reduced once I controlled for power distance, specific self-confidence, stigma consciousness, and their various interactions with type of help. I found no support for Hypotheses 1e, 2e, or 3e – the effects of type of help on assessments of beneficiaries' competence, task performance or assessments of the helper's competence were not reduced by the inclusion of power distance, specific self-confidence and stigma consciousness. Although I found little evidence these three characteristics can enhance our understanding of the relationship between benevolent sexism and helping behaviors, the strong correlation I found between benevolent sexism and power distance suggests that future research that uses benevolent sexism to investigate power and status differences between men and women should also account for power distance.

## CHAPTER 7

### STUDY 3 – OBSERVER EVALUATIONS OF HELPING BEHAVIOR

#### Participants, Design and Procedure

Prior to collecting participants, I ran a power analysis to determine sample size based on the small effect sizes I reported for Study 1. To achieve 80% power for  $\alpha = .05$  with an estimated effect size of 0.09, I would need a target sample size of 137 participants. Therefore, I recruited 148 women through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. As in Study 1, I included five questions throughout the survey that served as attention checks. I removed 8 people from the study for failing these attention checks. This left me a total of 140 participants in the final sample. Participants' age ranged from 21 to 72 years ( $M = 41.62$ ,  $SD = 11.84$ ), with almost 50% of the sample falling within the 27 to 43 age range. The participants were 75% White, 14% Black, 2% Latinx, 4% Asian/Pacific Islander, and the remaining identified as Native American, Mixed Race, or Other. Participants were paid \$0.75 for their participation.

I conducted a single factor experimental design and participants were randomly assigned to either a dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help condition. As a cover story, participants were told that they were taking part in a study on internet-based interactions that had three parts. In Part 1, the participants were supposed to tell the researchers a little bit about themselves. In this section, they completed demographic questions (age, gender, race, education level, sexual orientation, work experience) as well as the Power Distance and Stigma Consciousness scales (see below). Then they were taken to Part 2 of the study, which was supposedly about online dating and included the Benevolent Sexism scale alongside questions about online dating to disguise the study's true purpose. After this, participants were brought to

the third part of the study which was supposedly about online training methods. In Part 3, participants watched a short video of a woman receiving help on a cognitive ability test. Prior to watching the video, participants were given a short bio for both the woman who is supposedly taking the test and the mentor who helps her. The bio participants received for the woman receiving help was the same regardless of experimental condition. It read: “Jessica is a 21-year-old senior who attends a large university in the Western United States. She is currently enrolled in a program that will help prepare her to take a graduate school admissions exam.” The bio participants received for the helping instructor was the same regardless of experimental condition. It read: “Steven is a 21-year-old senior who attends a different university than does Jessica. He has completed his graduate school admissions exam but is still waiting to hear about his results. In the meantime, he is tutoring seniors remotely via online sessions.” I attached a photo to both bios that was supposedly taken from their school’s ID card. These photos were taken from the Chicago face database (Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2015). The photos were chosen because they were similar in attractiveness (Female = 3.69; Male = 3.54) and because they were high in perceived prototypically (Female = 3.52; Male = 3.98). Participants were asked to identify the gender of the mentor before they were taken to the video.

The participants then watched the video of the woman taking an online test and who received help on the test (either dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented depending on the condition) from the mentor. The video was a desktop screen capture of a woman taking shortened version of the test from Study 2. To be clear, participants do not see the woman herself taking the test, but rather a video of her computer as she takes the test. The woman had her Slack (a popular internet chat application common in organizations) open on the right side of her screen, which is how the mentor delivered the study’s helping manipulations. After finishing

each question, the woman would inform her mentor on Slack that she moved onto the next question and then the mentor would provide help to her for the next question. In order to make sure that participants remembered the gender of the helper, both the student's and the mentor's names and photos were clearly visible in the Slack chat. After participants finished the video they completed the final questionnaire.

***Type of Help Manipulation.*** The type of help received by the woman in the video varied across conditions. In the dependency help condition, the mentor gave the woman in the video answers to the questions she missed without explanation. In the autonomy help condition, the mentor gave the woman in the video a helpful hint to the questions that she missed. For example, the mentor in the autonomy help condition gave the following hint to a question on number patterns: "Hint: The pattern is that each number is multiplied by 2 and then you add a sequential number."

## **Measures**

***Benevolent Sexism.*** I measured benevolent sexism in the same way as in Study 2 ( $\alpha = .90$ ). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the scale. See Table 12 for means and correlations between all variables.

***Power Distance.*** I measured power distance in the same way as in Study 2 ( $\alpha = .66$ ). Please see Appendix B for the full version of the scale.

***Stigma Consciousness.*** I measured stigma consciousness in the same way as in Study 2 ( $\alpha = .80$ ). Please see Appendix B for the full version of the scale.

TABLE 12

**Study 3 – Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.**

Measures	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	0.54	0.50	—				
2. Benevolent Sexism	3.66	1.23	.00	—			
3. Power Distance	2.92	1.08	.03	.56**	—		
4. Stigma Consciousness	4.83	1.07	-.01	.02	-.14	—	
5. Beneficiary's Competence	3.86	1.42	-.21*	.10	.17*	-.03	—

*1: Variable coded as 1 for dependency-oriented help; and 0 for autonomy-oriented help.*

\* $p < .05$  ; \*\* $p < .01$

**Manipulation Checks.** The participants completed two manipulation checks. First, participants completed a two item manipulation check in which they described how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “The help provided to Jessica consisted of a hint on how to solve the question;” and “Jessica was given a hint that allowed her to solve the question;” ( $\alpha = .95$ ). Items were averaged to create an overall measure to test whether participants noticed that Jessica received autonomy-oriented help. Second, participants completed a two item manipulation check in which they described how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “Jessica lacked the ability to solve the problems the way she saw fit;” and “The help Jessica received did not allow her to solve the problems on her own;” ( $\alpha = .70$ ). Items were averaged to create an overall measure to test whether participants felt that Jessica was dependent on the help she received from her mentor. The particular items used were inspired by the manipulation checks in Nadler, et al. (2008).

***Perceived Competence - Beneficiary.*** I measured perceived competence of the beneficiary in the same way as Study 1 ( $\alpha = .86$ ). Please see Appendix A for the full version of the scale.

### **Study 3 Results**

***Manipulation checks.*** A one way ANOVA indicated that my manipulations for type of help were successful. Participants in the autonomy-oriented help condition ( $M = 6.32, SD = 0.92$ ) were significantly more likely to agree that the helper provided a hint on how to solve the problem to the beneficiary than those in the dependency-oriented help condition ( $M = 4.68, SD = 1.99$ ),  $F(1, 136) = 36.91, p < .001, \eta^2_p = 0.21$ . Another one way ANOVA indicated that my manipulations for type of help were successful in creating feelings of dependency. Participants in the dependency-oriented help condition ( $M = 5.17, SD = 1.31$ ) were significantly more likely to agree that the helper's actions did not allow the beneficiary the agency to solve the problem on her own than those in the autonomy-oriented help condition ( $M = 3.82, SD = 1.28$ ),  $F(1, 136) = 38.11, p < .001, \eta^2_p = 0.22$ .

Further, I tested for multicollinearity in the regressions by calculating the variance inflation factor (VIF) for all variables. The VIF values were low, ranging from 1.00 to 2.45, suggesting little risk of multicollinearity affecting these analyses.

***Beneficiary's Competence.*** The results of all linear regressions conducted as part of Study 3 are presented in Table 13. First, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism. Results indicated that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.12, t(134) = 0.61, p = .54$ . However, the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.60, t(134) = -2.55, p = .01$ , meaning that observers, regardless of their endorsement of benevolent sexism,



evaluated the beneficiary as lower in competence when she received dependency as opposed to autonomy-oriented help.

Next, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, power distance, and the interaction between type of help and power distance. Results showed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = 0.35$ ,  $t(134) = 1.63$ ,  $p = .12$ , and that the main effect for type of help in this regression was significant,  $\beta = -0.61$ ,  $t(134) = -2.64$ ,  $p = .01$ .

Thirdly, I regressed beneficiary's competence on type of help, stigma consciousness, and the interaction between type of help stigma consciousness. Results revealed that the two-way interaction was not significant,  $\beta = -0.07$ ,  $t(134) = -0.33$ ,  $p = .74$ . Again, the main effect for type of help was significant,  $\beta = -0.60$ ,  $t(134) = -2.53$ ,  $p = .01$ . Although I fail to find support for Hypotheses 4a, 4b, 4c, and 4d the results clearly indicate a consistent main effect – observers negatively evaluate the competence of women who received dependency-oriented help as opposed to women who received autonomy-oriented help and that this occurs regardless of the observer's individual characteristics.

**TABLE 13****Study 3 Linear Regression Model – Beneficiary’s Competence**

	Benevolent Sexism	Power Distance	Stigma Consciousness
(Intercept)	0.33 (0.17)	0.33 (0.17)	0.33 (0.17)
Type of Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.60 (0.24)*	-0.61 (0.23)*	-0.60 (0.24)*
Characteristic	0.05 (0.15)	0.03 (0.10)	0.00 (0.17)
2-way Interaction	0.12 (0.20)	0.35 (0.22)	-0.07 (0.23)
Model <i>F</i>	2.79	4.59	2.22
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.06*	.09*	.05 †

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded 1 for dependency, 0 for autonomy; † $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$*

Lastly, I ran a hierarchical linear regression where Model 1 regressed beneficiary’s competence on type of help, benevolent sexism, and the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism and where Model 2 included power distance, specific self-confidence, stigma consciousness, and all of their interactions with type of help as additional moderators to test Hypothesis 4e (see Table 14). A z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = -0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ,  $Z = 0.85$ ,  $p = .40$ ). Further, a z-test revealed that there is no statistically significant difference between the standardized beta coefficient for the interaction between type of help and benevolent sexism in Model 1 ( $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ) and in Model 2 ( $\beta = -0.04$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ,  $Z = 0.69$ ,  $p = .49$ ). Thus, I fail to find support for Hypothesis 1e.

**TABLE 14****Study 3 Hierarchical Regression Model – Beneficiary’s Competence**

	Model 1	Model 2
Help <sup>1</sup>	-0.60 (0.24)*	-0.61 (0.24)*
Benevolent Sexism	0.05 (0.15)	0.05 (0.17)
Help X Benevolent Sexism	0.12 (0.20)	-0.10 (0.24)
Power Distance		0.01 (0.19)
Help X Power Distance		0.41 (0.27)
Stigma Consciousness		-0.00 (0.18)
Help X Stigma Consciousness		-0.03 (0.23)
$\Delta R^2$		.04
$F$ for $\Delta R^2$		1.29
Total $R^2$	.06	.10
Model $F$	2.79*	1.95†
$df$	(3,136)	(7,132)

*Note: Entries represent unstandardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. All continuous variables have been centered.*

*1: Variable coded for help have been dummy coded (1 for dependency, 0 for autonomy)*

† $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

**Study 3 Discussion**

The major aim of this study was to resolve the contradicting effects that benevolent sexism has had on observations of helping behaviors. Prior research has found that observers high in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help (Becker et al., 2010) and also that observers low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help (Ruiz, 2019). The results of this study do not clear up these inconsistencies since I failed to find a relationship between beneficiary’s

competence, type of help, and benevolent sexism. As such, this study adds to the growing disconnect between benevolent sexist beliefs and behaviors in the literature. This study, however, found that the negative effects of dependency-oriented help are more generalizable than previously thought. I found that observers judged women who received dependency-oriented help as less competent than women who received autonomy-oriented help, regardless of their individual beliefs.

Another aim of this study is to investigate whether there may be other characteristics which are related to benevolent sexism and that could help explain of the effects of gender on helping behaviors. As in Study 2, I found a strong relationship between benevolent sexism and power distance, but benevolent sexism was unrelated to stigma consciousness. Further, I tested to see whether the relationship between benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help would be significantly reduced once I controlled for power distance and stigma consciousness. I found that the effects of type of help on observers' assessments of beneficiary's competence were not reduced by the inclusion of power distance and stigma consciousness. Thus in Study 3, I found little evidence that there are other characteristics that can enhance our understanding of the relationship between benevolent sexism and helping behaviors.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

#### **Summary of Findings**

In this dissertation, I explored the effects of helping behaviors on women in the workplace (see Table 15 for summary of results). Specifically, I ran two studies that explored the negative consequences that dependency-oriented help may have on women's self-assessments of competence and performance on a task and one study that explored the negative consequences that dependency-oriented may have on observer evaluations of women who receive this form of help. In both Studies 1 and 2 I found that women who received dependency-oriented help perceived themselves as lower in competence than women who received autonomy-oriented help. Further, in Study 1 I found that this effect only occurred when male helpers gave dependency-oriented help to female beneficiaries. Additionally, I found in both Studies 1 and 2 that female beneficiaries perceived men who offered dependency-oriented help as being less competent than men who offered autonomy-oriented help. Contrary to my theorizing, I did not find any relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary's task performance. Lastly, in Study 3 I found that observers' evaluate female beneficiaries of dependency-oriented help as less competent than female beneficiaries of autonomy-oriented help, echoing the result of Ruiz (2019). Overall, I have shown in this dissertation that dependency-oriented help has a consistent, universal impact on the competence of both female beneficiaries and male helpers.

**TABLE 15****Summary of Findings**

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Study 1</i>	<i>Study 2</i>	<i>Study 3</i>
1a – Benevolent sexism and beneficiary's competence	Supported	Not Supported	N/A
1b – Power distance and beneficiary's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
1c – Self-confidence and beneficiary's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
1d – Stigma conscious and beneficiary's competence	N/A	Supported	N/A
1e – Four moderators on beneficiary's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
2a – Benevolent sexism and performance	Not Supported	Not Supported	N/A
2b – Power distance and performance	N/A	Partial Support	N/A
2c – Self-confidence and performance	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
2d – Stigma conscious and performance	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
2e – Four moderators on performance	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
3a – Benevolent sexism and helper's competence	Not Supported	Not Supported	N/A
3b – Power distance and helper's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
3c – Self-confidence and helper's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
3d – Stigma conscious and helper's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
3e – Four moderators on helper's competence	N/A	Not Supported	N/A
4a – Benevolent sexism and observer competence	N/A	N/A	Not Supported
4b – Power distance and observer competence	N/A	N/A	Not Supported
4c – Stigma conscious and observer competence	N/A	N/A	Not Supported
4d – Three moderators on observer competence	N/A	N/A	Not Supported

One of the main aims of this dissertation was to explore the intersection of benevolent sexism and dependency-oriented help since benevolent sexism has functioned inconsistently as a moderator in previous studies. In Study 1 I found that women who endorse benevolent sexism negatively evaluated her own competence and the competence of her male helper after receiving dependency-oriented help. However, in Study 2 I found that benevolent sexism did not affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary's competence or helper's competence. These conflicting results speak to the inconsistencies surrounding benevolent sexism's use in studies on helping behaviors. Although it is possible that the differences in results between these two studies are artifacts of the context of the studies themselves, Study 2 was largely a replication of Study 1 but with minor changes that should have only affected the results of beneficiary's task performance. Lastly, in Study 3 I found that benevolent sexism did not affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help on observers' evaluations of the beneficiary's competence. This finding was particularly unfortunate because Study 3's main aim was to clear up the conflicting results that benevolent sexism had on this relationship in previous research, which found that observers high in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help (Becker et al., 2010) and also that observers low in benevolent sexism negatively evaluate women who receive dependency-oriented help (Ruiz, 2019). Overall, in this dissertation I have failed to clear up any inconsistent findings pertaining to benevolent sexism and helping behaviors and in fact my studies have highlighted these inconsistencies.

Because benevolent sexism has not been the most useful characteristic to consider in the context of gender and helping behaviors, another aim of this dissertation was to see if there were other characteristics that could help explain the effects of dependency-oriented help on women. Specifically, in Studies 2 and 3 I tested to see whether power distance, specific self-confidence,

and stigma consciousness affected the relationship between dependency-oriented help and various outcomes for women. First, I found that power distance did not affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary's competence, helper's competence, or observer evaluations of beneficiary's competence. However, I found that power distance interacts with dependency-oriented help to influence task performance. I found that women higher in power distance perform better after receiving dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help and that women lower in power distance did not perform any differently after receiving dependency-oriented help. Second, I found that specific self-confidence did not affect any of the negative consequences that women face from receiving dependency-oriented help. Third, I found that stigma consciousness impacted the relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary's competence. I found that women low in stigma consciousness doubted their own competence more after receiving dependency-oriented help as opposed to autonomy-oriented help and that there were no difference in competence evaluations for women who were high in stigma consciousness and who received dependency-oriented help. Stigma consciousness, however, did not affect the relationship between dependency-oriented help and beneficiary's task performance, helper's competence, or observer evaluations of beneficiary's competence. Overall, I found that none of these three characteristics elegantly explain the relationship between gender and helping behaviors.

One final aim of this dissertation was to investigate whether there may be other characteristics which are related to benevolent sexism and that could help explain some of its effects on helping behaviors. In both Studies 2 and 3 I find a strong relationship between benevolent sexism and power distance. However, benevolent sexism was unrelated to specific self-confidence and stigma consciousness. Further, I found that the effects of benevolent sexism



and type of help on self-assessments of beneficiaries' competence, task performance, helper's competence, and observer assessments of beneficiary's competence were not significantly reduced by the inclusion of power distance, specific self-confidence and stigma consciousness. Thus, I find little evidence that these three characteristics are related to benevolent sexism in a way that they can be used to help explain some of its effects on helping behaviors.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

This series of studies makes several important theoretical contributions to the field. First, the present work extends research on benevolent sexism by attempting to show that the effects of some benevolent behaviors may also be explained by characteristics beyond the endorsement of benevolent sexism. In two studies, I found that the effects of benevolent sexism on helping behaviors are not driven by other more well-established characteristics that could be related to benevolent sexism. Specifically, I found that power distance, specific self-confidence and stigma consciousness did not account for the impact that benevolent sexism had on the negative effects of helping behavior on women. While there may still be other characteristics that could be related to benevolent sexism this dissertation provides some assurance that the three aforementioned characteristics are not better predictors of the effects of benevolent sexist behaviors than benevolent sexism itself. I did, however, find that power distance was highly correlated with benevolent sexism. Interestingly, I also found that despite the correlation they have differential effects on women who are given help by men – women who endorsed benevolent sexism doubted their own competence more after being the beneficiary of dependency-oriented help while women preferred higher power distance performed better after being the beneficiary of dependency-oriented help. Thus, the results of this dissertation suggest

that future research that uses benevolent sexism to investigate power and status differences between men and women should also account for power distance.

Second, the present research extends research on Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCBs) and helping behaviors by theorizing and testing the effects of these behaviors on the beneficiary's competence and task performance. Previous research on the negative consequences of OCBs on the individual or group level have mainly focused on decreased performance as evaluated by the individual's supervisor (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997) or on decreased team performance in highly interdependent teams (Bachrach, Powell, Collins, & Richey, 2006). I extend this research by showing that some helping behaviors may have negative effects on women because they may inadvertently perpetuate benevolent sexist behaviors in the workplace. In this dissertation, I showed that although dependency-oriented help did not affect a female beneficiary's performance on the task for which she received help, it did cause the beneficiary to doubt her own competence. Further, observers who witness a female beneficiary receive dependency-oriented help evaluate her as less competent than if she receives autonomy-oriented help. Thus, I have shown that some OCBs may have negative consequences for women depending on how the help is executed.

Lastly, this dissertation offers a new perspective with which to view helping relations between men and women. Prior research in this space has focused on how the endorsement of benevolent sexism may prompt a woman to ask for help from a man or prompt a man to offer help to a woman (e.g., Shnabel, et al., 2016; Wakefield, Hopkins, & Greenwood, 2012). To the extent that some research has investigated the negative effects of helping behaviors on women, the help provided to them was either theoretical (e.g. Dardenne et al., 2007; Ruiz, 2019) or the research did not distinguish between types of help (Becker et al., 2011). This dissertation adds to

this research by investigating how women are affected when they receive two different kinds of concrete help while simultaneously accounting for various characteristics of the woman that could affect this relationship. I found that women who receive dependency-oriented help more negatively evaluate their competence and the competence of their helper than women who receive autonomy-oriented help. Further, I find in Study 1 that women who endorse benevolent sexism more strongly negatively evaluate their own competence and the competence of their helper. This dissertation also adds to the literature on helping behaviors by showing that power distance and stigma consciousness may impact the effects of dependency-oriented help. In Study 2 I find that women higher in power distance perform better after receiving dependency-oriented help and that women who are low in stigma consciousness doubt their own competence more after receiving dependency-oriented help. Thus, this dissertation shows that dependency-oriented help has a real impact on both female beneficiaries and male helpers and that a variety of individual characteristics can strengthen these impacts.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

Although this dissertation presents numerous theoretical contributions, it also suffers from several limitations. First, these studies do not investigate the psychological mechanisms which may underlie the negative effects of dependency-oriented help. For example, to the extent that dependency-oriented help affects the agency of the beneficiary, it would be useful to test whether beneficiaries feel like they lack agency to solve the problems on the cognitive ability test on their own following their receipt of dependency-oriented help. If so, then these feelings of a lack of agency or dependency may be the driver of the negative evaluations that women make of their own competence after they receive dependency-oriented help. Other psychological mechanisms that could underlie the relationship between gender and dependency-oriented help

include one's endorsement of stereotypes about women's competence, feelings of loss of status or power, the extent to which one perceives helping behaviors to be sexist, and the extent to which one perceives the helper as having sufficient authority and expertise to give help. Thus, future work on gender and helping behaviors should include a more thorough investigation of the psychological mechanisms which may underpin these relationships.

Additionally, there are several limitations that could have affected the results regarding beneficiary's task performance in Studies 1 and 2. For example, it is possible that my test of dependency-oriented help instead constituted a form of feedback as opposed to help. In both Studies 1 and 2 the participant received the helping manipulation after they completed the first version of the cognitive ability test. Because I operationalized dependency-oriented help as giving respondents the answers to the test (e.g. Shnabel et al., 2016), those participants in the dependency-oriented help condition simply received the answers to the questions they got wrong, which is a form of feedback. Future research should have participants exposed to the helping manipulation as they are answering the questions on the first version of the cognitive ability test. To the extent that dependency-oriented help consists of providing the participants answers to the questions on the first test, participants may become dependent on receiving these answers and thus should perform worse on the second test. Another potential limitation of the study design is that because participants are exposed to the study's manipulations in between taking both versions of the test and as such, they may forget some of the help that was provided to them on later questions. For example, if the participant received help on questions 3, 4, 6, and 9 on the cognitive ability test, then by the time they make it to question 9 on the second version of the test they may have forgotten what helped they received on it. Future studies could fix this problem either by exposing the participants to the study's helping manipulations during the

second version of the test or providing them a reminder of the help they received as they answer later questions. Thus, the tests in Studies 1 and 2 had significant limitations that could have impacted the results regarding beneficiary's task performance.

Another limitation has to do with the power distance scale itself. In both Studies 2 and 3, the internal reliability of the scale was marginal ( $\alpha = .60$  in Study 1 and  $\alpha = .66$  in Study 2). Given this marginal internal consistency, the results of these studies may have been stronger with a more reliable power distance scale.

One final limitation is that the current research fails to take into account the directionality of the results for offering help. Although I have framed my results around the concept that dependency-oriented help creates negative consequences for women, it is equally likely that autonomy-oriented help creates positive consequences for women. For example, it is possible that women who receive autonomy-oriented help feel particularly empowered and thus rate themselves as more competent than women who receive dependency-oriented help. Similarly, female beneficiaries of autonomy-oriented help may positively evaluate the competence of their male helpers because they view these helpers having mastery over the subject for which they are providing help. Future research should contain a neutral condition (such as a no help condition) to better verify the directionality of the results for these helping behaviors. Relatedly, future research should explore the positive benefits of providing autonomy-oriented help to women. For example, research could explore how men could be better allies to women in the workplace using autonomy-oriented help. It is possible that men who wish to help a female colleague who is the target of sexual harassment may help in a way that diminishes her agency (dependency-oriented help). Instead it is possible that offering autonomy-oriented help, such as providing information about policies or resources to women, is arguably a more effective way to be an ally to a woman

facing sexism in the workplace. Thus, research that focuses on the positive benefits of autonomy-oriented help could be a particularly fruitful area to explore.

This dissertation has several findings that could influence future research regarding benevolent sexism. In Study 1, I found that women higher in benevolent sexism negatively evaluated their own competence after receiving dependency-oriented help from a man. Further, in both Studies 1 and 2 I found that women higher in benevolent sexism performed worse on the cognitive ability test than women lower in benevolent sexism. Taken together there is some evidence that benevolent sexism and women's work performance are linked. Future research could investigate these links between benevolent sexism, competence, and performance to determine whether low performing women are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism or if endorsing this belief system could harm women's productivity in the workplace. Additionally, I also found that benevolent sexism was highly correlated with power distance (Studies 2 & 3). This means that the more women endorse benevolent sexism, the more they prefer to be subservient to those with higher power. This suggests that future research that uses benevolent sexism to investigate power and status differences between men and women should also account for power distance.

Future research should continue to investigate the inconsistencies between benevolent sexist beliefs and benevolent sexist behaviors. This dissertation found that power distance, specific self-confidence, and stigma consciousness are not better predictors of the effects of benevolent sexist behaviors than benevolent sexism itself, at least with regards to helping behaviors. Future research could investigate other characteristics, such as social dominance orientation (Pratto, et al., 1994) or feminist identity (Downing & Roush, 1985), which could be related to benevolent sexism and could help further our understanding of helping behaviors.

Relatedly, future research could investigate characteristics that could help explain other inconsistencies in benevolent sexism's effects apart from helping behaviors. For example, men who endorse benevolent sexism attribute less blame and recommend shorter sentences to their acquaintance's sexual assaulter, despite endorsing the belief that men must protect and help women (Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). In this example, power distance, traditionalism, or social dominance orientation may serve as a better explanation for this effect than benevolent sexism alone. Lastly, one final explanation for the inconsistencies between benevolent sexist beliefs and benevolent sexist behaviors is that benevolent sexism as a construct should be updated. For example, the existence of the heterosexual intimacy subscale means that LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer) individuals will never score high on benevolent sexism once all three subscales are averaged together, even if these individuals endorse paternalism or complementary gender differences. Future research will need to provide a more thorough investigation of benevolent sexism.

## **Conclusion**

In this dissertation I investigated the effects of helping behaviors on women. I found that women who received dependency-oriented help perceived themselves as lower in competence than women who received autonomy-oriented help and that this effect only occurred with male and not female helpers. These women are also judged as being lower in competence by observers after they receive dependency-oriented help. I also found that women who received dependency-oriented help did not perform any worse than women who received autonomy-oriented help. Lastly, I found that women who received dependency-oriented help from men evaluated their helper as lower in competence than women who received autonomy-oriented help. This research extends the literature on OCBs and helping behaviors by showing that some

helping behaviors can have damaging effects for both the helper and beneficiary of the help. These results also have important practical implications because helping behaviors are ubiquitous and widespread in the workplace. As organizations recognize and reward the practice of employee OCBs, these organizations may experience some of the negative effects of dependency-oriented help and encourage a climate of benevolent sexist behavior in the workplace. That is not to suggest that managers should downplay or discourage employees from helping each other in the workplace. Instead, managers may need to be cautious when advocating for employees to help each other on tasks, and they may need to specify ways to provide help (i.e., autonomy-oriented) that benefits both parties. Overall, the current research has important implications for women in the workplace and suggests that men should refrain from offering dependency-oriented help to women if they wish to avoid inadvertently devaluing the women they are trying to help.



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## APPENDIX A – STUDY 1 MATERIALS

### Cognitive Ability Test

Cognitive ability test used in Study 1 (correct answers in bold):

#### *First Test*

1) What is the next number in the sequence? 4, 9, 19, 39

- a) 78
- b) 79**
- c) 88
- d) 89

2) A book is related to the paper, like a dress to a....

- a) Coat
- b) Textile**
- c) Hat
- d) Button

3) Are the following two words similar, contradictory, or not related?

Infallible                      Impeccable

- a) Similar**
- b) Contradictory
- c) Not Related
- d) Don't Know

4) Data:

All Tetras are orange

All carnivorous fish are not red

All short-toothed fish are not orange and are carnivorous

Which of the following fish can live according to the data?

- a) Short-toothed, non-carnivorous Tetra that is not red
- b) Short-toothed, carnivorous Tetra
- c) Long-toothed carnivorous fish which is red but is not a Tetra
- d) Long-toothed, carnivorous fish which is orange but is not a Tetra**

5) All the buttons of a calculator has broke down except from the multiplication button, numeric buttons 3 and 5, and equal button.

Which of the following numbers is impossible to get following a series of actions in this calculator?

- a) 25
- b) 27

- c) **50**
- d) 75

After the test, all participants were informed that they got numbers 1 and 4 wrong. They were given help depending on condition and then presented with the second version of the test.

### **Second Test**

- 1) What is the next number in the sequence? 3, 7, 15, 31,
- a) 36
  - b) 54
  - c) **63**
  - d) 93

- 2) Cow is to milk as orange is to:
- a) Soda
  - b) **Juice**
  - c) Apple
  - d) Coffee

- 3) Are the following two words similar, contradictory, or not related?  
Detest & Despise
- a) **Similar**
  - b) Contradictory
  - c) Not Related
  - d) Don't Know

- 4) Data:  
All parrots are green  
All predatory birds are not green  
All long beak birds are not green and are not predatory  
Which of the following birds can live according to the data?
- a) Long beak predatory bird, that is not green and not a parrot
  - b) Short beak parrot and a predator
  - c) **Short beak green bird, which is not a predatory and is not a parrot**
  - d) Long beak parrot that is not a predator

- 5) All the buttons of a calculator has broke down except from the multiplication button, numeric buttons 4 and 6, and equal button.  
Which of the following numbers is impossible to get following a series of actions in this calculator?
- a) 24

- b) 36
- c) 96
- d) 124**

## **Measures**

### ***Perceived Competence (self):***

- I felt capable during this interaction.
- I felt competent during this interaction.
- I felt intelligent during this interaction.

### ***Perceived Competence (other):***

- My partner came across as capable during this interaction.
- My partner came across as competent during this interaction.
- My partner came across as intelligent during this interaction.

### ***Benevolent Sexism Inventory:***

- A good woman should be set on a pedestal.
- Women should be cherished and protected by men.
- Men should sacrifice to provide for women.
- In a disaster, women need not be rescued first. (R)
- Women have a superior moral sensibility.
- Women have a quality of purity few men possess.
- Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste.
- People can be truly happy in life without being involved with members of the opposite sex. (R)
- Everyman ought to have a woman who he adores.



- Men are complete without women. (R)
- No matter how accomplished he is, a man's life is not truly complete unless he has the love of a woman.

## APPENDIX B – Study 2 Materials

### Cognitive Ability Test

Cognitive ability test used in Study 2 (correct answers in bold):

#### *First Test*

1) What is the next number in the sequence? 5, 13, 30,

- a) 36
- b) 54
- c) **65**
- d) 93

2) Astronomy is related to stars, like History is related to...

- a) Eclipses
- b) **Battles**
- c) Horses
- d) Books

3) Are the following two words similar, contradictory, or not related?

Quixotic & Utilitarian

- a) Similar
- b) **Contradictory**
- c) Not Related
- d) Don't Know

4) Consider these facts:

All parrots are green

All predatory birds are not green

All long beak birds are not green and are not predatory

Which of the following birds can live according to these facts?

- a) Long beak predatory bird, that is not green and not a parrot
- b) Short beak parrot and a predator
- c) **Short beak green bird, which is not predatory and is not a parrot**
- d) Long beak parrot that is not a predator

5) In an effort to make their games appeal to a wider audience, Firearm Games introduced more diverse characters and put their female characters in less revealing clothing.

Please choose the answer that best corrects the underlined portion of the above sentence.

- a) then put their female characters in less revealing clothing.
- b) dressed their female characters in less revealing clothing.**
- c) dressing their female characters in less revealing clothing.
- d) putting their female characters in less revealing clothing.

6) In a class of 52 students, 19 are taking Biology and 32 are taking Chemistry. Of the students taking Biology and Chemistry, 9 are taking both courses. How many students are not enrolled in either course?

- a) 5
- b) 8
- c) 10**
- d) 14

7) A Blu-ray player with a list price of \$100 is marked down 30%. If John gets an employee discount of 20% off the sale price, how much does John pay for the Blu-ray player?

- a) \$45
- b) \$50
- c) \$56**
- d) \$60

8) Please fill in the phrase that best belongs in the sentence below:

Great! The washing machine \_\_\_\_\_ working. Did you have it fixed?

- a) won't be
- b) isn't
- c) can't have been
- d) seems to be**

9) The Vega Nutrition company recently released a new workout supplement called Pump3D, which contains Guarana extract as the main ingredient. People who regularly take guarana extract supplements have a significantly lower level of fatigue after anaerobic exercise than people who do not take the supplement. Thus, Pump3D can greatly reduce athletes' fatigue after anaerobic exercise.

The above argument relies on which of the following assumptions about Pump3D?

- a) Guarana extract causes an athlete to feel less fatigue after anaerobic exercise.**
- b) Athletes who take Guarana extract also take other workout supplements.
- c) Pump3D has other ingredients apart from Guarana extract.
- d) Athletes who feel less fatigue after anaerobic exercise always take Guarana extract.

## Second Test

10) What is the next number in the sequence? 7, 17, 38,

- a) 71
- b) 79
- c) 81**
- d) 89

11) A book is related to the paper, like a dress to a....

- a) Coat
- b) Textile**
- c) Hat
- d) Button

12) Are the following two words similar, contradictory, or not related?

Infallible & Impeccable

- a) Similar**
- b) Contradictory
- c) Not Related
- d) Don't Know

13) Consider the following facts:

All Tetras are orange

All carnivorous fish are not red

All short-toothed fish are not orange and are carnivorous

Which of the following fish can live according to these facts?

- a) Short-toothed, non-carnivorous Tetra that is not red
- b) Short-toothed, carnivorous Tetra
- c) Long-toothed carnivorous fish which is red but is not a Tetra
- d) Long-toothed, carnivorous fish which is orange but is not a Tetra**

14) In order to better differentiate its product from generic brands, the cereal company first hired a marketing firm that specializes in creating campaigns to build brand awareness and then retools its factory to produce a variety of different shapes of cereal.

Please choose the answer that best corrects the underlined portion of the above sentence.

- a) retools its factory to produce a variety of different shapes of cereal.
- b) then will retool its factory to produce a variety of different shapes of cereal.
- c) then retooled its factory to produce a variety of different shapes of cereal.**
- d) then produces a variety of different shapes of cereal through retooling its factory.

15) In a class of 78 students, 41 are taking French and 22 are taking German. Of the students taking French or German, 9 are taking both courses. How many students are not enrolled in either course?

- a) 15
- b) 24**
- c) 33
- d) 40

16) A jacket with a price of \$50 is on clearance for 20% off. Laura wants to use a coupon that will get her an additional 10% off any clearance item. How much would the jacket cost Laura?

- a) \$25
- b) \$26
- c) \$35
- d) \$36**

17) Please fill in the phrase that best belongs in the sentence below:

I call foul! Germany \_\_\_\_\_ the World Cup. That referee's call was clearly biased towards Germany!

- a) won
- b) should have won
- c) did not win
- d) shouldn't have won**

18) Indigo College has built its reputation for academic excellence largely on significant contributions from wealthy alumni who are avid fans of the school's football team. Although the team has won more national championships over the years than any other team in its division, this year it did not even win the division title, and so Indigo College can expect to see a decline in alumni contributions next year.

The above argument relies on which of the following assumptions about Indigo College?

- a) The college's reputation for academic excellence depends on the performance of its football team.
- b) The college's football team will continue its losing streak next year.
- c) As a group, the college's alumni will have at least as much discretionary money to give away next year as this year.
- d) Indigo's alumni contributions depend on a winning record by the college's football team.**

## Measures for Study 2

### *Power Distance:*

- There should be established ranks in society with everyone occupying their rightful place regardless of whether that place is high or low in the ranking.
- People are better off not questioning the decisions of those in authority.
- Communications with superiors should always be done using formally established procedures.
- Even if an employee may feel he deserves a salary increase, it would be disrespectful to ask his manager for it.

### *Specific Self-Confidence:*

- I feel self-confident.
- I'm confident about performing well.
- I'm confident I can meet the challenge.
- I'm confident because I mentally picture myself reaching my goal.
- I'm confident of coming through under pressure.

### *Stigma Consciousness:*

- My being female influences how people interact with me.
- Most men have a problem viewing women as equals.
- Most men do not judge women on the basis of their gender. (R)
- When interacting with men, I feel like they interpret all of my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a woman.
- I almost never think about the fact that I am a woman when I interact with men. (R)